

Visual Surveillance and Direct Action Protest in the City of London

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PhD thesis

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Abstract

Due to its workings as a global financial nexus, activists critical of capitalism have used the City of London to stage a number of large-scale direct actions since the 1983-84 Stop the City protests. By examining protest at this renowned site of intensified observation, I argue, we can learn a great deal about what surveillance processes do in practice. To develop its argument, this thesis offers a detailed examination of visual surveillance and counter surveillance practice over four protests: the J18 (1999); the G20 Meltdown (2009); Climate Camp in the City (2009); and Occupy LSX (2011). Based on empirical, qualitative research through archival work, interviews, and video documentation stored at the MayDay Rooms, this thesis demonstrates how City and Met police used visual surveillance to disrupt, re-frame and further criminalise dissent. Over the course of these four protests the police learnt new ways to suppress what they termed 'extreme' protest. Conversely, activists developed choreographed, embodied movements and alternative technologies to counter new public order procedures and police surveillance. Politically driven artists, performers and technologists were at the vanguard of these new protest formations, early internet livestreaming and pioneering technical innovations that challenged existing surveillant structures. Yet, as this thesis articulates, over the course of these protests many activists' inventions were slowly subsumed into proprietary online frameworks, which embed surveillance by default. This thesis uses insights from Marx and Marxist inspired theorists to describe how this method of surveillance and subsumption took place. While police formations informed by this history are increasingly being taken up nationally and internationally, it is vital to understand how state security forces and corporate observers have dealt with 'extreme' protests in the City.

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Introduction

This thesis explores the relationship between visual surveillance and a new wave of direct action protest that emerged from 1983 onwards in the City of London. Due to the Square Mile's notoriety as a global financial nexus, activists critical of capitalism have used this area to stage a number of large-scale direct actions since the 1983-84 Stop the City (STC) protests. As public order procedures developed and CCTV technology was installed, the Square Mile became conceptualised as a place of near ubiquitous police observation. This thesis scrutinizes four key points of protests where the City became an area of closely surveilled resistance. In doing so, it uses the City of London as a field site to explore how a movement of activists attempted to manoeuvre around visual surveillance structures through innovative protest formations and new technologies.

I posit this inter-relationship as a struggle between the creation of a commons by anti-capitalist activists and its enclosure by the forces of the state and capital. To develop this argument, I offer a detailed examination of visual surveillance and counter surveillance practice over the following protests: the J18 (1999); the G20 Meltdown (2009); Climate Camp in the City (2009); and Occupy LSX (2011). Over the course of these four protests activists developed choreographed, embodied movements and alternative technologies to open up a common space that countered new public order procedures and police surveillance. Politically driven artists, performers and technologists were at the vanguard of these new protest formations, early internet livestreaming and pioneering technical innovations which challenged existing surveillant structures. Conversely the City and Met police learnt new ways to enclose what they termed 'extreme' protest, through their own choreographed movements and the negative framing of activists via 'public' and internal communications.

While these police choreographed procedures and ideological frames were countered in innovative ways by activists, I argue another surveillance by capital was also taking place. This co-oped technological forms developed by activists,

reterritorialising them back into formations used to reproduce capital and enact further surveillance on those who revolt. As this thesis articulates, over the course of these protests many activists' inventions were slowly subsumed into proprietary online frameworks, which embed surveillance by default. As I assert this does not halt protest, it further complicates the relations activists have with the state, public communications and capital.

Research aims and objectives

This research project aims to uncover how practices of visual surveillance aided the enclosure of direct action in the City of London and subsumed the innovations of protesters. In doing so it examines the counter surveillance tactics activists put in place to subvert this. As such its purpose is to understand the key ways in which state forces have developed strategies that enclose upon activists and how capital subsumes and drains the commons. While at the same time discovering the ways activists have developed their own counter strategies. Similar to an approach taken by Aziz Choudry (2019), this project seeks to analyse what activists can learn from their interaction with state and capital surveillance practices. To achieve this I used the following research questions to guide this study:

- How did the visual surveillance of the J18, the G20 Meltdown, Climate Camp in the City and Occupy LSX lead to logistical police and state operations that enclosed upon activists?
- What counter surveillance strategies did activists use to open a commons at these protests and subvert the logistics or relations of capital?
- How were innovations developed to aid these protests subsumed by capital?

Research context

This interdisciplinary research project sits on the boundaries of visual culture, surveillance studies and activist intelligence and should primarily be understood

as an effort of activist research. I define the *visual* aspect of surveillance in two ways. The first is as the optics of surveillance – this can be both from the mechanical and human eye. Throughout the thesis we can see this type of observation being related to the bodily movements of police, their enclosure of activists and the subsumption of activist’s innovation. The second way I define the *visual* in surveillance is in relation to Nicholas Mirzoeff’s explanation of the term *visuality*. That is as authority’s claim on how to see. It is not purely optical but revolves around how information, ideas and images are assembled together (2011a:474).¹ *Visuality* helps to define a mode of seeing. As Mirzoeff says this is about “seeing and learning not to see” (2016:13). We might interpret this as attempting to install what Hall et al call “social vision” (1978:29)² which determines the “horizon of thought” (Hall 1977:333). As I show in this thesis the optics of surveillance often require a strong hold on *visuality*. I argue both sides of visual surveillance work together to mobilise action against direct action protest in the City.

As I emphasise in chapter 1 surveillance is a process of *doing*. In surveillance studies Rule et al (1983), Dandeker (1990), Lyon (2001, 2007), Gilliom and Monahan (2013) and Rosen and Santesso (2014) all with slight variations see surveillance as a two-stage process starting with some kind of monitoring that crucially leads to action.³ Step 1 is observing, collecting and scrutinizing. Step 2 is

¹ Mirzoeff (2011a:475) saw this as starting with the monitoring of slave plantations in the 17th century and developed through the 18th century where Generals were tasked with visualising numerous battlefields with information supplied by underlings. We might put this history back further in the ocular centrism of 15th century colonialism. Or even with the beginning of ocular centrism in the history of European thought.

² It is important to note that this notion of social vision comes from Hall et al’s work *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order*. Here they examine the transplanting of the term ‘mugging’ from a North American context where it was already bound up in notions of anti-Blackness. As they state the term mugging “arrived in Britain already established in its most sensational and sensationalised form.” (1978:28) As such this notion of social vision was deeply intertwined with the history of the racialised subject. This fit into an already socially constructed vision of anti-Blackness and the racialisation of the subject in the UK. For more information on this history see: Derek Humphry and Gus John’s (1972) *Because They’re Black*; Paul Gilroy’s (1987) *There Ain’t No Black in the Union Jack: the cultural politics of race and nation*; Arun Kundnani’s (2007) *The End of Tolerance: racism in 21st century Britain*; A. Sivanandan’s (2008) *Catching History on the Wing: Race, Culture and Globalisation*; David Olusoga’s (2016) *Black and British: A Forgotten History*.

³ Monahan and Murakami (2018:1-2) show a line from Rule et al’s (1983) definition of surveillance, through Dandeker’s (1990) definition to Lyon’s (2007) definition which highlight both the observation and directing elements of surveillance. One could also add to this list the

directing, influencing or managing. However, while we might see surveillance as a two-stage method, there are problems with reifying this concept and giving surveillance itself person-like agency. Surveillance is part of a process entangled in other processes. I argue understanding where the doing of surveillance fits into other functions of capital, rather than taking theories and transforming them to make surveillance the main agent, can give us a better understanding of how power functions. As Fuchs (2013:14) points out many of those in surveillance studies transform, ignore or relativise the work of Marx and in so doing squeeze much of the radical politics out.⁴

I utilise theories from and inspired by Marx to help understand how the state and capital engage with surveillance processes to enclose on activists, subsuming their commons. This draws from a number of traditions within Marxist thought that examine a common, outside or 'non-capitalist strata' being drawn into capital. As such I highlight where surveillance processes engage with ideas of the new enclosures (Midnight Notes Collective 1990) accumulation by dispossession (Harvey 2003), subsumption (Hardt and Negri 2017, 2018a, 2018b), deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation (Deleuze and Guattari 1983, 1987). My primary aim here is to try to use these terms to illuminate our understanding of where the workings of capital and the state have affected activists on my field-site.⁵

In 2015, Eveline Lubbers suggested a new field of research called "activist intelligence and cover *counterstrategy* [my emphasis]"⁶ (2015:339) that would examine the infiltration and covert strategies that undermine activist movements (2015:335). She framed it as siting in parallel to Surveillance Studies that often

definition by Rosen and Santesso: "the monitoring of human activities for the purposes of anticipating or influencing future events" (2014:237). In their edited reader they follow a similar two step definition: "monitoring people in order to regulate or govern their behaviour" (Gilliom and Monahan 2013:2 quoted in Monahan and Murakami 2018: xix). However they do not define these definitions as being a process of doing, linking monitoring to action or having two steps.

⁴ There is of course good and important work done in Surveillance Studies which attempts to hold power to account and theorise surveillance in ways which have been useful to activists.

⁵ It is not that all work on surveillance needs to be Marxist, but it needs to maintain a critique which holds power to account and does not lose the radical edges of the theory it uses.

⁶ As she states in her 2012 book *Secret Maneuvers* she had already proposed one on activist intelligence and covert strategy (2015:338)

focused on the effects of digital technology (2015:346). This new field would instead “bring together examples of political policing; to map out the increasingly blurred boundaries between public and private intelligence gathering; and to study the subsequent use of such intelligence to silence critical voices in society” (2015:339). As such this field was emphasised as being to the benefit of activists and for the protection of public protests (2015:350).

Although it has a long history, Lubbers (2015:340) sees a main thread of contemporary activist intelligence coming from the 1980s and activists relations with multinational corporations. She particularly mentions London Greenpeace and their McSpy case. This has particular relevance to my topic as this group helped co-ordinate aspects of the STC protests. As such in examining the protests that were inspired by STC or had connections to this history, there is already a link to this emerging field. While Lubbers outlines this new field as primarily examining covert and infiltration strategies outside of crowd control (2015:345), there is space here to develop upon how these two areas overlap. She argues that activist intelligence often requires processes of “mapping” (2015:347) the interconnected workings of state and corporate agencies to initiate debates around power. This research project also attempts to draw out where the state agencies are intermeshing with the private sector in the targeting of activists (particularly in Chapter 8).

Relevant to this thesis other recent work in the area of surveillance also attempts to put the radical back into this study. Aziz Choudry’s edited collection *Activists and the Surveillance State* argues: “struggles against the surveillance and criminalisation of dissent must confront the state and capitalist power relations which organize these practices” (2019:17). Where surveillance is theorised it is done so to understand how the state and capital uses this process to function or achieves specific political ends.⁷ Examining surveillance in the context of activist

⁷ For example Radha D’Souza theorizes surveillance as part of the command-control apparatus of the state which enhances and protects it (2019:29), a robotic Golem to the state’s Leviathan (2019:34). As such he states: “Surveillance is used to establish a mindset where society accepts that national insecurity is permanent, that war as means of survival is inevitable” (2019:37). This insecurity he say acts as like a feedback loop becoming commodified and financialised further in

struggles can, as Choudry states, allow for an understanding of power "when the state's repressive structures are laid bare" (2019:6). At the same time he asks what can be learnt from these confrontations (2019:4). This not only tells us about the functions of state and capital but what we can learn from how repression was resisted (2019:3).

The surveillance studies scholar Gary Marx (2003:388) sees these types of endeavors as "a dynamic, adversarial social dance involving moves and countermoves." Indeed Torin Monahan concurs stating "surveillance and counter-surveillance appear to be engaged in a complicated dance" (2006:527). Yet while Monahan defines counter surveillance as "intentional, tactical uses, or disruptions of surveillance technologies to challenge institutional power asymmetries" (2006:516) he does not examine the physical protest formations that embed these tactics.

I take inspiration from a strand of performance theorists in critical dance who have looked to the body as a central part of building innovative techniques and formations. These take their cue from an analysis which examined embodied practices through a choreographic frame (see Foster 2003; Praviainen 2010; Lepecki 2013; McKeon 2014; Diverlus 2018). Rather than look at these as dances, these scholars examine as Praviainen (2010:312) states: "how these choreographies can be understood as strategies in organising political fields not merely as symbolising or representing something." These examine how protest forms can exhibit an embodied non-compliance with authoritarian force (Foster 2003:396). At the same time they observe that, as Parviainen asserts, police and corporate security structures: "learn from the tactics of protestors how to deal with their choreographies" (2010:326). Both sides observe and adapt to the other's formations, yet with completely different relations to power and capital.

the interest of capital and the warfare state. Here surveillance fits a process. As he states "as a link in the imperial chain." (2019:38)

Situating the wave of direct action protest

As L.A. Kauffman (2017:x) outlines direct action is a “slippery and imprecise term” which can refer to “marches, boycotts, and strikes” as well as “picket lines, sit ins, and human blockades”. As she states its common usage goes back to the IWW and their radical actions “work slowdowns”, “factory occupations” and “industrial sabotage” (2017:xi). Alice Cutler and Kim Bryan (2007:262) argue direct action “occurs when people place their bodies and their freedom in the way of power.” Here these encompass tactics from the suffragette, civil rights and anti-war movements (2007:264). Direct action in these interpretations is about being part of a collective entity that uses physicality and lasting symbolism in an effort to directly effect change. Benjamin Franks (2003:20) sees direct action as “synecdochic; it contains elements of the object it is representing. It stands both as a practical response to a given situation, but also as a symbol of the larger vision of societal change.” As such the means of direct action are seen as significantly tied to the way a movement envisions change.

The protest groups examined in this thesis, interpreted direct action in a similar way to Franks (2003) and Cutler and Bryan (2007). I focus specifically on mass forms of direct action protest groups used at the specific events mentioned above. As such I examine the way in which protest groups have attempted to build and initiate mass direct action formations that counter the heightened surveillance in the City of London.

The City of London is a contentious area where direct action activists and police lay competing claims. This has local consequences for those involved but, as I show, it also had national and global consequences in relation to the protest forms and police operations developed. The City of London has three core elements that make it an important field site for this project. Firstly it is notorious as one of the most surveilled public spaces in the world (Coaffee 2004:78). Secondly it is a crucial nexus of global capital. Thirdly, because of its reputation as a nerve centre of international finance it has been the location of a wave of protest from the 1983-4 STC actions onwards.

In the USA Kauffman points to the Mayday 1971 protest as pointing to “a new style and structure of radical organizing” (2017:xiii) This seemingly failed mass protest (2017:29) is for Kauffman seen as the start of a new era. The Mayday Tribe who organised the protest gathered in a “fractured political landscape” (2017:7) with a “decentralised structure” (2017:12). The aim was to create human and material blockades on crucial bridges and roads stopping the flow of traffic to federal government buildings thereby halting the functioning of the government. Their slogan was: “if the government won’t stop the war, we’ll stop the government” (2017:2). In the UK a similar type of effort could be seen as starting a specific current of mass direct action.

I argue the 1983-4 Stop the City protests can be seen as a format for a new type of mass direct action protest similar to Kauffman’s analysis of Mayday 1971. Numerous connections have been made between the Stop the City protests of 1983-4 and alter-globalisation movement of the 1990s and early 2000s (see Christie 2010; Worley 2011:78-79; Franks and Kinna 2014:353; Cross 2016:154). In particular, the Stop the City protests have been linked to the 1999 Carnival Against Capitalism (J18) through their common approach of leveraging of the City of London as a space of financial and state power (Kapferer 2007: 74, 83), the connections between movements, people (Notes from Nowhere 2003:184) and aesthetics (Jordan 2019).⁸ With the heightened visibility of the Occupy Wall Street and Occupy London protests many examined the origins of Occupy in Stop the City (Metzger 2011; Joyce and Wain 2014:9-10; Cross 2016:156).⁹

Often when the tactics used on STC have been linked to other protests these have not been explored in much depth. For example those such as McCormick (2012:204), Franks and Kinna (2014:353) only briefly mention the development of tactical ideas from Stop the City onwards without detailing how they developed

⁸ Evidence from the police suggests that the City and Met initially saw these protests forms as interchangeable – often referring to the Carnival Against Capitalism as further STC protest in internal literature. Much of the evidence for this can be seen in material released for the Austin case.

⁹ In preparation for the first 1983 Stop the City protest London Greenpeace printed a leaflet entitled: “Occupy ‘the City’? This autumn?” This of course resonates with the ‘Occupy’ 2011/12 protest which was held at St Paul’s.

in relationship to policing. Tranmer (2011:5) describes a commonality of blocking traffic but again does not link the tactical development to policing changes or go into much detail in terms of other strategies. In summary, there have been links made between many of these protests but there is more to examine in terms of the learning that was provided from them and how they were policed.

The problem of how a protest form can solidify and initiate itself in a space of heightened surveillance has been of crucial importance to all those who organised all the protests examined in this thesis. Strategically the ability to counteract surveillance has taken many forms. Yet, all the protests I examine have embedded counter surveillance in choreographed movements. Throughout this thesis we will see this through formations such as the 'starburst' (J18), 'the reverse starburst' (G20 Meltdown), 'the swoop' (Climate Camp in the City) and 'the inside/out' (Occupy LSX). Crucially, they all depend on learning diffused from one protest to another. I argue this is knowledge that has been developed by the embodied experience of attempting to create a commons in the unlikely space of the City of London.

Activist research

In this thesis I use activist research methods to uncover specific ways the state and capital have used surveillance to enclose upon activists and subsume their commons. In his introduction to the journal *State Research* E.P. Thompson highlights the importance of investigating state surveillance. Stored in the State Watch archive at MayDay this document outlines a method of battling the political policing of social or anti-imperialist movements (1979:11). He argues that "information must be blown" (1979:22), so that the secret operations of the state can be reconstructed and at least in part confronted (1979:23).

For Choudry, this type of research helps outline the contours of power relations surrounding capital and the nation state, which creates a "deradicalisation-industrial complex" (2019:15)¹⁰. One might see industrialised deradicalisation as

¹⁰ This understanding of deradicalisation is intertwined with the racialised subject and builds on the work of critical anti-racist, anti-imperialist and anti-colonial scholars and activists. See: Arun

a tool to drain the “energy well of proletarian power” (Midnight notes 1990:6). As such it could be positioned as part of the New Enclosures which *the Midnight Notes Collective* see as dividing the planetary proletariat in order to aid a protected path for capital accumulation.

Understanding how this process of industrialised deradicalisation works can come from activists researchers who excavate state documents and provide a counter surveillance (Thompson 1979:6; Choudry 2019:15; Lubbers 2019:224-241). This in itself is a type of commons building which as Choudry states “has included organising that draws from the painstaking work accessing and sifting through official documents where they are available, pooling investigative skills and resources and developing relationships.” (2019:15) As Choudry (2013:146) contends, “research is only one aspect of struggle” it must go hand and hand with organizing and the building of movements.¹¹ The collectivised labour of activist research hopes not just to observe the world, but to change it. As activist researcher Eveline Lubbers states: “I see my role as an active one, chasing evidence where most of it is secret, bringing together the work of investigative reporters, whistleblowers, and people spied upon. Why? To empower activists.” (Lubbers 2019:218)

In this way activist research might be seen to asymmetrically challenge state and capital surveillance structures that themselves hope not just to monitor social movements, but to act upon them. Here surveillance becomes clear as a two stage connective process. The role of the activist researcher in this context then might be seen as driving a wedge through points in this surveillance process and prying them open through research. In relation to this thesis my research has attempted to pry open and investigate areas where the City and Met police have enclosed upon activists struggles, observing where capital also plays a role in this. In doing

Kundnani's (2009) *Spooked! How Not to Prevent Violent Extremism*, (2012) 'Radicalism: The Journey of a concept', and (2014) *The Muslims Are Coming! Islamophobia, Extremism, and the Domestic War on Terror*; Ian Cobain's (2016) *The History Thieves: Secrets, Lies and the Shaping of a Modern Nation*; Nisha Kapoor's (2018) *Deport, Deprive, Extradite 21st Century State Extremism*

¹¹ Equally one could look towards the building and transformation of the Institute of Race Relations for a model of how this can work in practice. See: A. Sivanandan's (2008) 'Race and Resistance: the IRR story'

so, I highlight how activists have deterred such attempts showing both surveillance processes and how they have been thwarted.

My method for this research project solidified through my experience at the MayDay Rooms from 2017 onwards.¹² Located in the City of London, the MayDay Rooms houses archives of politically radical and socially alternative histories predominately from the 1960s onwards. Since its opening in 2013, the space itself has aimed to create links between contemporary activists, stored materials and the creation of future actions.¹³ Atop the MayDay Rooms Manifesto is a quote by Walter Benjamin “In every epoch, the attempt must be made to deliver tradition anew.” (Benjamin 1968:255 in MayDay Rooms 2011a:n.p.)¹⁴ It might be said that a Benjaminian approach to historical materialism runs through the foundations of the MayDay Rooms. These closely link to Benjamin’s interpretation of Marx’s methodology, in which, as Esther Leslie outlines: “History breaks down into images not stories – it is the flash not the continuum that is important [...] blasting significance from the fragments that bear traces of the whole.” (Leslie 2000:197)

Many of the materials held in the archive come from groups that have been infiltrated, thwarted, forgotten, though not completely crushed. Ironically, there is a sense that the ultimate demise of these ideas might come from mummifying the remaining historical fragments in the archive’s tomb or in a document... such as this. Here they become safe and homogenised. They can lose their radical impetus and instead become historicised as an epic from a previous time. Lost in an established narrative, which confines them to the past. These like archives can be non-threatening places when they hold us at arms length from the struggle

¹² I started a six month residency at May Day in January 2017

¹³ At the MDR one is surrounded both by dissenting and radical voices from the past and present. Resident groups who make up part of the building collective include a Latin American cleaners and associates union (CAIWU), a Pan African Cinema archive, the London branch of Industrial Workers of the World, STRIKE Magazine and State Watch. The large kitchen and roof terrace often provide a social space for various individuals from these organisations to mix with those using the archive. Additionally, the building offers free space to unfunded groups who want to put on public meetings or provide workshops. These range from radical poetry nights to feminist design collectives, from those involved in the rent strike movement to anarchist reading groups. Marxists and anarchists mingle in a space which aims to support anti-capitalist ventures.

at hand, when we can put the material down and walk out at any time. As such, this dissertation, like the MayDay Rooms hopes to activate these works bringing them back into a contemporary struggle against capital. It hopes to find ways that the learning from the past can help give insight into our contemporary environment.

Much of the empirical evidence used in this paper comes out of activist research. This includes information on: the surveillance operation at the J18; the development of police containment tactics; the use of containment at the G20 protests; the use of undercover officers at the J18 and G20; information on the framing of Occupy LSX as domestic extremists; and the development of Project Servator. Some of this information was gathered by myself but most of the raw data was uncovered or pulled out of the state by others who either donated it to me or made it publically available at the MayDay Rooms or through alternative means.

In January 2017, when I began my 6 months residency at the MayDay Rooms, examining dissent in the City of London, I was contacted by Nicola Kirkham. She had a series of fieldwork interviews with City of London officers who were involved in the policing of the Carnival Against Capitalism. One of them was a retired police officer who gave her a video tape of spliced together surveillance footage taken of the J18. This had been used in training and analysis of the day as part of Operation Enterprise.¹⁵ Taken as a whole all this information gave me crucial insights into how visual surveillance structures were perceived by police and organised on the day of the protest. This makes up much of the evidence for chapter 3.¹⁶

¹⁵ She kindly donated these materials to me and we started a J18 collection at the MayDay Rooms. She had obtained these as part of the research for her PhD written in 2006 in a similar style to Kathleen Steward's *Ordinary Affects* (2007). Her generosity of spirit in doing this is representative of the collective working practice I have observed of those involved in activist research of this kind. Her project was to use these materials to build a picture of how the protest developed on the day tracing the development of events as they occurred. I haven't come across a more detailed or nuanced depiction of the day's protest than hers. It was not part of her project to use the interviews as verbatim evidence.

¹⁶ Along with Kirkham I developed the J18 holdings at the MayDay Rooms.

Equally, activists themselves have forced the release of information as a by-product of their court cases against the police. Crucial to this PhD there have been two court cases against the police use of containment tactics, which have released vital evidence. As Lubbers outlines (2019:227-228) the court route can have mixed results when attempting to defend activists who have been spied upon. Yet even though it is rare to win a case against the Police or authorities, in the process of contesting, previously withheld information can be revealed.

Austin v Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis [2005] EWHC 480 centred around the seven hour containment of a May Day 2001 alter globalisation protest in London. To contest the claim that the Met falsely imprisoned protester Lois Austin and deprived her of liberty the police released huge quantities of previously unavailable and restricted documents. Many of these contained previously classified reports, which outline the surveillance activity on the activists groups such as Reclaim the Streets, examined in this thesis.¹⁷ Of particular importance to this study one of the boxes had the Met Police's report on the J18 and the preparatory surveillance activity leading up to this event. Another gives information on the growth of Operation Benbow and its link to the J18.¹⁸ Further documents show how the 'learning' on J18 lead to the development of containment as a preferred tactic above police dispersal. While some of this information was already known to me via other reports, the detail and insight given through this case were invaluable to a number of chapters throughout this thesis.

Similarly information which came out because of activists' interventions after the G20 protests gave greater understanding of police tactics. Joshua Moos and Hannah McClure who attended the Climate Camp in the City protests in 2009 brought a case against the containment of the protest and the police use of force.

Moos vs Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis [2011] EWHC 957 (used in

¹⁷ Ironically much of the information contained in the files for the Austin case had ephemeral material from activists I had previous not seen. As such the police had kept files of leaflets, posters, game boards, and so forth from activists. In this case the police who had been trying to contain and dismantle these protests ended up delivering vital information back into activist archives.

¹⁸ Again an activist research, Donal O'Driscoll, pointed me to this as a valuable resource.

Chapter 5) showed in detail how the Met attempted to police and separate the G20 Meltdown and Climate Camp protest. Furthermore the work of activists and journalists who presented evidence that questioned the framing of Ian Tomlinson's death brought out further information via the IPCC (used in Chapter 6). The Home Affairs Committee reports, MPA and HMIC reports which came after this presented even more information on the 'learning' from the J18 which was used to develop containment practice (used in Chapter 3).

It was activist research that led to the exposés of undercover policing in both the Climate Camp and the J18. As Lubbers states it was: "the research of friends and comrades who no longer trusted him, and specifically women in relationships with him, that undercover police officer Mark Kennedy was exposed in late 2010" (2019:224). The Undercover Research Group worked with a number of other campaigning groups to help bring further stories like this to light. Crucially, this implicated Andrew James Boyling one of the ten people who knew about the strategy to undermine police surveillance at the J18 in 1999. This showed that a protest that was used to develop further police tactics and vilify protesters was in part organised by an undercover officer.

For chapter 8 my own research around this used the City's public archive to examine police reports detailing their need for operational equipment. In examining their own reports and records new operations like Project Servator could be found and analysed. I presented a paper on this in 2016 to the *Surveillance Studies Network* and in 2017 Rizwaan Sabir produced an insightful article mentioning the tactic. While this information was freely available to the public, before myself or Sabir had written about this little critical work on this operation was available. At the present time Project Servator, which started with the intension to mix anti terrorism, crime control and protection against extreme protest, has been taken up nationally and internationally.

As a hub of activist research, the MayDay Rooms provided connections and links, which helped develop this thesis. I met people relevant to my study at the MayDay Rooms through a number of events I participated in. For example, after

my residency, I was asked to speak about police surveillance as part of the J18's 20th anniversary. A number of people gave contributions to the event from those who helped to organise the J18, to the people who set up the Indymedia Centre on the day. Members of London Greenpeace who took part in the Stop the City protests of 1983 and 1984 attended as well as others who were influenced in later years by the global justice movement. There were open and frank conversations about the creative innovations at the J18 and the political difficulties inherent in 'summit hopping'.

As a conclusion to my residency I organised an event called *Recording Resistance*. Approximately thirty people gathered from an open call to discuss the relationship between surveillance and activism. Running workshops and speaking were Lina Dencik from the *Data Justice Lab*, Steve Presence from the *Radical Film Network* and Alessandra Cianetti from *performingborders*. Myself and Nicola Kirkham discussed the J18 in relation to activist struggles and surveillance. The sharing of information throughout the day greatly benefited this study.

To aid this study, further, I conducted a number of interviews with activists who helped me further understand aspects of the technical innovations developed and communication practice used. I recorded interviews with activists who were predominantly working with public communication on these protests in order to understand the structures they developed and the difficulties they faced. In total I recorded semi structured interviews with: four video activists who attended the J18; one technological activist from bckspc who supported both the J18 livestream and the Occupy LSX livestream; one activist who attended the G20 protests and organised witness statements afterwards; three activists from Occupy LSX who were pre-organisers in the media team.

While I interviewed activists involved in communications I also examine how established communication forms worked in line with surveillance structures. From the established press I examined forty-seven articles in relation to the J18, fifty-two in relation to the G20 and fifty-five in relation to Occupy LSX and the Occupy movement. These were used to explore common framing devices and

similarities between stories. I also examined activists own public communication tools examining print texts (such as SCHnews, Do or Die, Squall, Evading Standards, Squaring up to the Square Mile, News from Nowhere and others), as well as online texts (such as Indymedia and Urban75). These were used to examine the type of theorising activists were producing around their own movement.

I was not involved in organising any of these protests, though I did participate as a protester on the 2009 G20 protests and attended the 2011/12 Occupy LSX. At the G20 I had come off work late to find my partner and daughter of three sitting on Bishopsgate Road in eerie quiet. The main protests had been kettled and the police were starting to sweep the streets in a dispersal operation. We were on the outside of the kettles and were pushed out of the area quickly. At Occupy LSX we had gone quite a few times as a family and my daughter did a performance at the Bank of Ideas as part of 'I'm with you'. At five years old she made a recorded sermon on the dangers of money, which was left in a pop up tent within the occupied UBS building.¹⁹ Although I do not make reference to these in the main text, these small experiences gave me certain insights into these events.

In an attempt to understand the City better I also attempted to use my body as a research tool. I walked every street in the City according to the Ordinance Survey map. This gave me a sense of the location and where events had taken place. But it also allowed me to see the City surveillance structures as they existed at the present moment to compare them with the past. As a tool of site research this aided my understanding of the location and the visible forms of surveillance that existed on the ground.²⁰

¹⁹ At 17 I attended a small Reclaim the Streets protest, but I only caught the end as the street was being cleared of protesters. I did not have the opportunity to attend the J18. Ironically it was more than a decade later that I found out one of my lecturers at the time had been a key organiser on the day.

²⁰ My own bodily attributes as a white male might have effected the relations I have with specific police surveillance structures. As such I may not have experienced the same surveillance apparatus as others who are discriminated against due issues of racialization.

As part of this I interviewed residents who were enmeshed with surveillance structures. One told me about his use of video. He had a practice of filming things he felt needed attention and sending them to the City Housing Office in order to force them into action. He filmed people urinating on the street, broken doors, 'noisy neighbours' and homeless people asleep in the parking area and pro-immigrant protests. These were all put up on YouTube with links sent to the City. Some comments seem to dehumanise those videoed. For example after filming a homeless encampment the text on the film states: "Nesting and defecating." Sometimes they verged on the bizarre. One film was just a close up a piece of excrement with the word 'faeces' underneath. I do not refer to the walks or the dialogue with residents in the main body of the PhD, however it was a crucial to understanding aspects of the City and its surveillance apparatus.

In order to lay the ground work for this study I interviewed three individuals involved with private and state security. These included an Operations Manager at a private security firm in the City and a Director of Marketing at a security products company. Their interviews and that of a member of the Home Office further helped develop my understanding of security protocol and vision in relation to the City.

Chapter outline

This thesis is split into four parts. Each part is prefaced with a short personal history related to the project themes. *Part 1* is composed of the first two contextual chapters (Chapter 1 and 2). *Chapter 1* gives an overview of the theoretical standpoint I take in relation to surveillance and counter surveillance used on protests examined in this thesis. I start this chapter by outlining surveillance as a two-stage process of *doing* (see Foucault 1995; Rule et al 1983; Dandeker 1990; Lyon 2001:2, 2007:14; Gilliom and Monahan 2013:2 and Rosen and Santesso 2013:10). I move on to highlight how surveillance studies has often reformulated – and at times depoliticised – theory inspired by Marx, particularly as it attempts to move beyond Foucault. I argue we should instead focus our understanding on where surveillance fits the functions of capital and the state. To do this, I outline how surveillance slots into a number of different theories

relevant to my thesis including: the process of primitive accumulation and dispossession (Harvey 2003); the new enclosures (Midnight Notes 1990); subsumption (Hardt and Negri 2000, 2009, 2018); deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation (Deleuze and Guattari 1983, 1987, 1995). As such I argue surveillance in the context of this thesis aims to enclose upon and subsume the commons.

Chapter 2 gives a brief background to the City and contextualises the origins of the protests examined in this thesis. I focus on the 1983-84 Stop the City protests positing them as creating a new format for mass direct action on this site. I explore how the anti-roads and the newly emerging video activist movement built further counter surveillant knowledge into the STC. I highlight how the growth of Reclaim the Streets and their alliance building strategies would often come through struggles with the police over areas of commons and enclosures. Furthermore, the international coalitions built through the Zapatistas and the People's Global Action (Notes from Nowhere 2003:184) mixed tactics that grew through a need to defend a commons and protect areas from further enclosure.

Part 2 is composed of two chapters on the J18 protest (Chapter 3 and 4). *Chapter 3* examines how the City and Met police attempted to reterritorialise the carnivalesque commons created at the 1999 J18 protest, enclosing upon activists through the use of surveillance tactics. The J18 protest developed the counter surveillance form known as 'the starburst,' which used a system of masks and flags to undermine police command and control. After the protest the police enacted Project Enterprise in order to hunt down activists using images from this surveillance footage published through the press. I argue ideological frames from this operation were further strengthened internally to interpret surveillance video. The surveillance footage and documentation of the J18 was used by both the City Police and the Met as evidence for the need to change policing structures, move towards containment procedures on public order events and increase funds for undercover operations. Yet it was later revealed that the protest was in part organised by an undercover police officer. While it is unclear how much information was passed on to the City Police who were in charge of public order

on the protest, the complicity of the police in this event raises questions around its later use in defining public order policy.

If on one hand the J18 was said by the police to birth the kettle, on the other it delivered the first protest livestream, and an embryonic independent media centre later developed for the infamous 1999 Battle of Seattle. *Chapter 4* focuses on how activists developed the first protest livestream and Indymedia centre in an attempt to provide an alternative view of the protest from the one that they assumed would be presented via traditional media outlets. As such in relation to surveillance and counter-surveillance the tools of communication were being fought over. With limited finance the J18 media team developed innovative ways to disseminate information online creating a common of freely available information. This deterritorised set ways of reporting in the news industry. However, as a line of flight out of the organising structure of the news industry, it also could be reterritorisised in new ways.

Part 3 is composed of two chapters on the anti-G20 protests. *Chapter 5* gives a brief overview of the kettle's development in relation to alter globalisation and anti capitalist direct action protest since the J18. It then examines the way the G20 Meltdown protest and Climate Camp built counter surveillance strategies into their protest form. The G20 Meltdown's 'reverse starburst' and Climate Camp's 'swoop' attempted to provide means for activists to reach their final location and initiate their protest in the hyper surveilled space of the City. I examine the way the MPS choreographed a twin kettling operation in response to this and finally how protesters were able to fracture the kettle's use after the fact.

Chapter 6 examines the development and fracturing of police frames around the death of Ian Tomlinson at the G20 Meltdown. I explore how these police frames were built through direct links to media outlets, systemic use of disposable staff, and the enclosure of sites where official knowledge is established. I outline how activists question these frames utilising indymedia and offline meeting spaces to generate knowledge passed on to journalists. While video documentation of a police attack on Tomlinson eventually broke this frame, I assert it is questionable

to what extent this held power to account due to the asymmetrical relations of power.

Part 4 is composed of two chapters surrounding Occupy LSX and the surveillance operations, which developed after its eviction. *Chapter 7* examines the ways that Occupy LSX worked within existing structures. I start with an examination of how Occupy LSX situated itself in St Paul's Churchyard and initiated its durational form within the confines of the kettle. I then show how the media team developed their public relations strategy in an attempt to work within traditional news outlets. Finally, I highlight how Occupy LSX worked within and adapted off the shelf systems for livestreaming and the subsumption that occurred of these into proprietary platforms.

In *chapter 8* I explore the shift in police visual surveillance systems within the Square Mile after Occupy LSX. I provide an account of Servator's initial development out of the rise and slow deterioration of the Ring of Steel. I focus the change in police visual surveillance systems within the Square Mile that work to further design out 'extreme protest' and control space for the circulation of capital. Through examining archival evidence and its own visual campaign materials I argue that Project Servator attempts to create a fluidity between police and 'public', using a variety of methods to transplant sight and in turn shape perceptions. Finally, I show how Servator is being taken up nationally and internationally and developing links with the corporate counter insurgency.

Part 1 - Context²¹

My grandfather had been a communist ever since he saw the treatment of his father in the sweatshops of New York. He and my grandmother met working in a communist bookstore together in Cincinnati in the 1930s. After the Communist Control Act of 1954 was introduced, his name was published in a national newspaper as a 'known communist'. He was forced underground while my grandmother struggled to support my father and uncle. My grandmother told me each time she got a job her manager would get a visit from the FBI telling them they had the wife of a known communist working for them. "They found out" she said, "and I kept getting fired from jobs". Finally four years later they were reunited in LA.

²¹ What is the context for this doctoral study? It is both my own context and that of the topic. My political history starts with my grandparents and their relationship to capital and state oppression. Just like the activists in this study, my grandparents were under a visual surveillance that worked through a network of media technology and the physicality of state force. Ironically the material which brought by grandparents together – that of print – also was used to tear them apart. I cannot extract myself from the acts of violence, orchestrated by the capitalist state, which drove my grandparents' communism and their oppression. It informed my father's politics and my own.

Chapter 1: Subsumptive Surveillance

This chapter contextualises the key theories used within my doctoral study. Throughout this thesis I examine direct action protest in relation to capital and state surveillance. Within this context I argue that surveillance works as a two-stage process of monitoring and directing, which enables the physical and technological enclosure of activism. I posit this as a struggle between the creation of a commons by activists and its enclosure by the forces of the state and capital. As such this struggle can be outlined with the use of Marx and Marxist inspired theorists. I start this chapter by outlining surveillance as a two-stage process of *doing*. I move on to highlight how surveillance studies has often reformulated – and at times depoliticised – theory inspired by Marx, particularly as it attempts to move beyond Foucault.

Rather than taking theories and transforming them to make surveillance the main agent, I argue we should instead focus our understanding on where surveillance fits within the functions of capital and the state. To do this I outline how surveillance slots into a number of different theories relevant to my thesis including: the process of primitive accumulation and dispossession; the new enclosures; subsumption; deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation; hegemony and visibility. Some of these theories have been transformed out of recognition by surveillance studies. In outlining them here I attempt to engage with their political potential further by developing those aspects that come from Marx.

Surveillance as a process of *doing*

Many of the modern definitions of surveillance see it as a process of *doing*. Rule et al (1983), Dandeker (1990), Lyon (2001, 2007), Gilliom and Monahan (2013) and Rosen and Santesso (2014) all with slight variations see surveillance as a two-stage process starting with some kind of monitoring that crucially leads to action.²² Step 1 is observing, collecting and scrutinizing. Step 2 is directing,

²² Monahan and Murakami (2018:1-2) show a line from Rule et al's (1983) definition of surveillance, through Dandeker's (1990) definition to Lyon's (2007) definition which highlight both the observation and directing elements of surveillance. One could also add to this list the definition by Rosen and Santesso: "the monitoring of human activities for the purposes of

influencing or managing. Lyon, one of the foundational scholars of surveillance studies, defines surveillance as: “any collection and processing of personal data, whether identifiable or not, for the purposes of influencing or managing those whose data have been garnered” (Lyon, 2001:2). He updated this in 2007 to a “focused, systematic and routine attention to personal details for purposes of influence, management, protection or direction.” (Lyon 2007:14)

Surveillance by this account is a process that goes between an assessment of the world and a way of acting upon it; connecting thought to deed. This I believe is a vital aspect of surveillance. Certain theories, arguably those around subsumption, seem to have gaps that this two-stage process could fill. Exploring how surveillance occurs and has been countered in these previously ignored areas might further outline the contours of capital and state repression as well as how this can be side stepped. Yet the specificity of surveillance as a two-stage, connective process is often unremarked upon.

Even Michel Foucault’s seminal book *Surveiller et Punir* literally translates as ‘survey and punish’ (Schwan and Shapiro 2011:15) alluding to this two stage process. As his translator Alan Sheridan asserts, Foucault’s use of *surveiller* is itself a direct translation from Jeremy Bentham’s ‘inspect’ (Sheridan 1995:ix). Inspect and punish might be an interesting contribution to the two stage definition of surveillance especially in relation to the state, capital and activism. When Foucault argues “there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations” (Foucault 1995:27) he could be positioned as asserting that the place for step 1 of surveillance is firmly within a dynamic of power. This is an important point for the understanding of

anticipating or influencing future events” (2014:237). In their edited reader they follow a similar two step definition: “monitoring people in order to regulate or govern their behaviour” (Gilliom and Monahan 2013:2 quoted in Monahan and Murakami 2018: xix). However they do not define these definitions as being a process of doing, linking monitoring to action or having two steps.

surveillance within this thesis. Through Foucault one can start to question the objective nature of the official knowledge obtained via surveillance.²³

The 'field of knowledge' for Foucault is a highly political area that plays out on the body in a variety of ways. For Foucault this creates a strategic interplay between dominated and the dominator. With institutionalized discipline he argued: "The human body was entering a machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down and rearranges it. A 'political anatomy', which was also a 'mechanics of power', was being born" (1995: 138). Foucault then sees this process of surveillance as observing, mapping and rearranging to create a disciplinary power in a political form. As he states: "Discipline is a political autonomy of detail" (1995:139). Knowledge about the body for Foucault is political, it is observed and categorised in order to take action – to disempower or to make docile. Throughout this thesis I highlight the political nature of body knowledge especially on direct action protests. While there may be many lenses through which this could be viewed, Foucault makes a valuable contribution. The machinery of power finds new strategies in the spatial arrangement of bodies and the effects of observation.

For Foucault this was best summed up by Bentham's idea for the Panopticon. Bentham's architectural diagram for prison reform placed a guard tower in the centre of the institution, which could see into every cell (1995:200). Yet while from the guard tower one could see into each cell the inmates could not verify if there was anyone watching them (1995:201). This was seen by Foucault as "the diagram of a mechanism of power reduced to its ideal form" (1995:205). In its spatial design it separated the inmates physically dispossessing them of collective power creating docile bodies. In its optical paths of sight it "dissociated the see/being seen dyad" (1995:202). This on one hand gave the impression that the inmates might always have eyes upon them, changing their behaviour (1995:204). On the other hand it meant the machine of the panopticon embedded power relations. As Foucault states: "it automates and disindividualizes power." (1995:202) Here he sees the panopticon as a "political technology" (1995:205). In

²³ Whereas some might argue this leads to a break down of the idea of 'truth', Schwan and Shapiro argue that Foucault here is discussing "a particular mode of truth relations, a socially constructed (and implicitly disempowering) system of knowing things" (2011:95)

its visual/spatial arrangements the panopticon strategically automates power relations.

Within the academy Foucault's shadow has loomed large over the study of surveillance (Wood 2003:235). Many theorists who examine surveillance argue studies of the subject need to go beyond panopticism (see Bauman 1999; Boyne 2000; Lianos 2003; Haggerty 2006; Bigo 2006; Los 2006; Murakami Wood 2007; Ajana 2007; Lyon 2008; Bauman and Lyon 2013). Some have gone as far as to call for Foucault's metaphorical decapitation in the field of surveillance studies (see Haggerty 2006).²⁴ Kevin Haggerty rallies against forms of -opticon iterations stating that, "the panoptic model masks as much as it reveals" (2006:27). In his view surveillant processes have become reified as panoptic within some scholarly studies, leading to the neglect of numerous types of surveillance that do not fit this model (2006:23). This is not to argue that the panoptic model and notions of discipline fail to reveal any areas of surveillance practice still at work today (Lyon 2010:326). Yet the image of the panopticon is said to obscure other ways of positioning surveillance. As a move towards new theorisations, some have turned to the work of Deleuze on control societies (Bogard 2006a; Kemple and Huey 2005; O'Byrne and Holmes 2009; Muir 2012, 2015; Ring, Steiner and Veel 2018) and Deleuze and Guattari on assemblages (Haggerty and Ericson 2000; Bogard 2006b). Many of these works position themselves as breaking with Foucault.

Yet Caluya (2010) argues the way in which Foucault has been discounted is problematic on two accounts, neither of which question the need to assess surveillance outside of the metaphor of the panopticon (2010:622). Firstly many of those who attempt to move surveillance studies past Foucault and towards Deleuze (or Deleuze and Guattari) negate the relationship between these thinkers (Caluya 2010:626). Primarily that Deleuze was deeply influenced by Foucault and often felt as if he was developing upon, not refuting his ideas (Caluya 2010:627). Secondly to understand Foucault only in terms of the Panopticon or to see discipline as disconnected from 'more relevant' aspects his work is to profoundly

²⁴ Haggerty (2006:27) states: "Foucault continues to reign supreme in surveillance studies and it is perhaps time to cut off the head of the king."

misinterpret his oeuvre (Caluya 2010:624). As Caluya points out the discussion of the Panopticon made up only one out of eleven chapters in the heavily mined *Discipline and Punish* (Caluya 2010:623). Equally there is much more to Foucault's work that might be relevant to surveillance than just the work he did within *Discipline and Punish*. Specifically outlined by Caluya (2010:629-631) is Foucault's work on security.

In his 1977-8 published lectures *Security, Territory, Population* Foucault isolates different modes of power. Here he finds three models; that of sovereignty, discipline and security. He explains them as follows with an emphasis on security:

sovereignty capitalizes a territory, raising the major problem of the seat of government, whereas discipline structures a space and addresses the essential problem of a hierarchical and functional distribution of elements, and security will try to plan a milieu in terms of events or series of events or possible elements, of series that will have to be regulated within a multivalent and transformable framework. The specific space of security refers then to a series of possible events; it refers to the temporal and the uncertain, which have to be inserted within a given space. The space in which a series of uncertain elements unfold. (2007:35)

Put simply we might say sovereignty captures a space, discipline structures it, while security observes eventualities and mitigates (rather than totally excludes) potential risks to the status quo. These different power structures could be seen to exist at different points temporally; with the capturing of land through war, disciplining subjects as notions of citizenship change and then securing sites when power has embedded itself deeply in the population. However, Foucault also warns against seeing these forms of power totally defining specific eras. Instead he notes that structures of power at times lay over each other creating a dynamic structure which uses different techniques over multiple sites. Yet the tools used to enforce these power structures vary. Specifically, what Foucault terms the 'apparatus of security' utilises the population in order to continually embed ideology at the level of their subjective identity.

It is of course more complicated than stating that all surveillance studies scholars either dismiss Foucault or reify his ideas. Those such as Fussey (2013) have

developed upon Foucault's notion of the 'apparatus of security' with specific relation to surveillance. Even in Haggerty's most furious diatribes against Foucault's use of the panopticon, Haggerty (2006:36-38) commented upon the relevance of Foucault's other work. Bogard (2006a:75) highlighted the overlaps between discipline and control. Murakami Wood (2007:257-8) shows a complexity of thinking around the use of Foucault commenting that in assessing the ideas of Foucault one should not use him as a straw man. In short it does not seem to be Foucault that these theorists are specifically arguing with, rather the simplification of his ideas. At play here is the abstraction of one point of reference unable to catalogue a wide range of different processes of surveillance.

In moving away from an extreme focus on Foucault and the panopticon then it is important not to reify another metaphor of surveillance, since reification in scholarship is by no means limited to Foucault. Arguably it is part and parcel of the business of academia. As Aziz Choudry and Dip Kapoor state: "dominant academic norms tend to encourage the reproduction of an individualistic and competitive pursuit of research and knowledge" (2010:ix). Within the neoliberal field of higher education what could be more individualistic and competitive than having your name or newly coined term stamped on a mode of seeing in your field? The panopticon, the surveillant assemblage, surveillance capitalism, even dare I say it subsumptive surveillance – these are all terms which can be used to keep the business of academia rolling. Therefore, while they may become reified and subsumed within a system of capital accumulation inside the academy, understandings elicited from these terms may still have radical potential. What is important is who they give voice to and how they might contribute to the break down of exploitation and oppression. Here we might question: what is deleted in this process as ideas are condensed down?

Christian Fuchs (2013) claims it is Marx who is often squeezed out of analysis in the field of surveillance studies. Fuchs contends that those who position themselves in surveillance studies have failed to engage with Marx's work on a meaningful level (2013:1). He argues these studies either ignore, relativise or

empty Marxian terms of their critical weight (2013:14).²⁵ He sites those such as Giddens who claim Marx ignored surveillance (2013:2) and then turns to the multi-volumed *Marx-Engels-Werke* as well as *On Freedom of the Press and Censorship* to argue that Marx did in fact have a lot to say about the political dimension of surveillance (2013:5). In addition to this he highlights Marx's treatment of workplace surveillance and supervision in *Capital* (2013:4). Fuchs asserts the importance of Marx in understanding surveillance as connecting both the political and the economic sphere (2013:5). In doing this he notes that Marx "pointed out a general law of movement of modern society originating in the capitalist economy that shapes all subsystems of society" (2013:3).

This understanding of the capitalist mode of production effecting wider society is a crucial aspect of many theories from Deleuze and Guattari as well as Hardt and Negri which are taken by surveillance studies scholars.²⁶ Yet this aspect of their work is often lost by those scholars who reposition them outside of Marxian thought. In examining how theories of subsumption, reterritorialisation, and dispossession can be connected to surveillance I aim to reconnect these back to their Marxist roots. At the same time I hope to outline areas where the two-stages of surveillance – that of monitoring and directing – might be placed within these theories that discuss how capital has absorbed something from outside itself.

This is a project that comes to surveillance from a different perspective than many of those who position themselves in the field of surveillance studies. For example in *The Surveillant Assemblage* (2000) Haggerty and Ericson knowingly cherry pick key aspects of Deleuze and Guattari's notion of the assemblage to create a tool kit for their analysis (2000:608). They argue individual surveillance systems have started to break down into a surveillant assemblage that

²⁵ Fuchs writes: "Surveillance scholars either claim that Marx ignored surveillance or acknowledge to a minor degree the importance of Marx for surveillance studies but at the same time relativize this statement by either conducting multidimensional analyses that miss causal connections or by implicitly or metaphorically using certain Marxian concepts without connecting the analysis of surveillance systematically to Marx's works and to the cycle of capital accumulation." (2013:14)

²⁶ To be clear this is often a starting point for these theorists who often branch out from there to assess new ways of thinking about the assemblages or labour as immaterial. However the point I am trying to make is that this is their grounding basis, an important element of their thought and can therefore give further insight into Marx.

reassemble flows from the human body into data doubles to be assessed and targeted (2000:606). Surveillance as an assemblage has contributed to the 'disappearance of disappearance' (2000:619) so that we are all watched meaning an end to the anonymous flaneur (2000:605). Here they develop an extremely rich and worthwhile theoretical tapestry explaining the intensity of surveillance structures as they combine.

However certain issues are left to one side in Haggerty and Ericson's analysis (2000). Systemic power structures are said to have combined with cybernetics and databases (2000:616), yet the material conditions that separate people are explored more in terms of bureaucratic surveillance than systems of exploitation (2000:618). Haggerty and Ericson create linkages between surveillance, politics and the economy, but the agency of surveillance as an assemblage seems to have primacy over the political economy.²⁷ One thing that is not mentioned in their assessment of the assemblage is Deleuze's assertion that "machines are social before being technical" (1988:39 quoted in Thoburn 2003:74). What we see in Haggerty and Ericson's notion is a surveillant assemblage made up of the technical without a clear outline of how it originated in the social.

William Bogard (2006b) tries to integrate surveillance further into Deleuze and Guattari's original analysis examining the relation between machinic and enunciative assemblages (2006b:104) and their lines of flight (2006b:107). Here he asserts that "The system of control is deterritorializing and the effects of this are to intensify but also, in a very real sense, to democratize surveillance" (2006b:102). In turn Bogard turns to Hardt and Negri's work on the new common arguing that "the surveillance assemblage has opened a new deterritorialized space of communication" (2006b:114). These comments suggest a flattening of power relations involved in surveillance when seen in relation to Deleuze and Guattari or Hardt and Negri. However Bogard underplays key aspects of these

²⁷ They state "The surveillant assemblage transforms the purposes of surveillance and the hierarchies of surveillance, as well as the institution of privacy." (2000:605) This gives the impression that surveillance structures themselves are the dominating force rather than providing an understanding of the agency behind them.

theorists in relation to capital and control based systems. While the deterritorialised aspects of resistant activities are highlighted, their imminent reterritorialisation is ignored. So too is the subject of surveillance as inherently raced, classed and gendered.

Marx has of course featured in the field of surveillance studies. As Fuchs (2013:3) notes there are numerous approaches which acknowledge Marx such as Oscar Gandy Jr (1993) and David Lyon (1994, 2001). Although, he asserts, these often “miss causal connections” (2013:14) due to their limited use of his analysis. Equally Fuchs writes there are a number of surveillance studies authors who make use of Marxian concepts implicitly or explicitly (2013:4) without fully drawing out their implication (2013:14). We might see this more recently in Shoshanna Zuboff’s work. Zuboff (2016:n.p.) took her idea of ‘dispossession by surveillance’ from Hannah Arendt and David Harvey. Zuboff saw the foundational act of dispossession by surveillance as the seizure of the digital ‘behavioural surplus’ first made profitable by Google. For her dispossession by surveillance created a ‘new logic’ for capitalism. Zuboff ignores an important part of Harvey’s original notion of accumulation by dispossession which he adapted from a critical reading of Rosa Luxemburg. This act of leaving Luxemburg behind could be seen to signify a move by Zuboff to radically alter Harvey’s term.

In using Luxemburg, Harvey saw accumulation by dispossession as being driven by the continual need to stabilise contradictions within capitalism. In this early writing Zuboff describes the surveillance capitalism which emerged from a dispossession by surveillance as ‘hijacking’ capitalism. However this controverts the origin of the term dispossession in Harvey’s work. Just as accumulation by dispossession releases new assets to be marketised and therefore creates new opportunities for the reproduction of capital, dispossession by surveillance would follow a similar tendency. Harvey outlines in his explanation of accumulation by dispossession, that this process occurs out of capitalism’s inability to produce harmonious relations by market liberalisation (Harvey 2003:144). Therefore this dispossession by surveillance would not be an outlier form which ‘hijacks’ the

system. Rather it would be a product of a system which must constantly find ways to deliver itself out of crisis.

In her book *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism* Zuboff drops the category 'dispossession by surveillance' and instead uses the term 'digital dispossession' (2019:99) in its place. However Zuboff still ties this term to the notion of primitive accumulation and similarly shows its origin in Arendt and Harvey, while continuing to miss out Luxemburg. In her book Zuboff does critique 'raw capitalism' through Piketty (2019:43-44, 518) and "destructive 'ages'" of capitalism through Edison (2019:520). Yet she asserts that as previous iterations of capitalism had a "synthesis that reunited capitalism and its population" (ibid) this can happen again. She sees no need for class struggle, just a change in 'public opinion' to mitigate capitals worst tendencies. It is in surveillance capitalism, she argues, that we find a "cruel perversion of capitalism" (2019:518). Here we see a clear argument towards 'good' capitalism verses 'bad' capitalism. For her it is because of the cycle of digital dispossession that "the rules of the game have been transformed into something that is both unprecedented and unimaginable outside of the digital milieu and the vast resources of wealth and scientific prowess." (2019:499) Therefore like Zuboff's previous work the underlying notion is that capitalism has been 'hijacked' by a form enabled through digital technology.

Evgeny Morozov writes that in *Surveillance Capitalism* Zuboff "emphasises the former at the expense of the latter" (2019:n.p.). Morozov points to Zuboff's academic origins in the field of 'managerial capitalism' as providing the framework for her discussions. Here we might see this as an example of what Fuchs noticed as a trend in Surveillance Studies where scholars would start "metaphorically using certain Marxian concepts without connecting the analysis of surveillance systematically to Marx's works and to the cycle of capital accumulation" (2013:14). Fuchs argues that terms which embedded Marxian notions – such as accumulation by dispossession – become emptied of meaning and repurposed for an analysis which limits their power. The editors of Monthly Review argue that in Zuboff's work: "the left roots of these ideas, and many of

their broader, more revolutionary implications, were simply discarded.”
(2016:n.p.)

In an article that foreshadowed Zuboff,²⁸ published by *Monthly Review* in 2014 entitled “Surveillance Capitalism: Monopoly-Finance Capital, the Military-Industrial Complex, and the Digital Age”, Foster and McChesney show some of the political areas that Zuboff could have developed in her own work. Rather than limiting their analysis to a ‘bad market model’ and a ‘new sovereign power’, they place the emergence of surveillance capitalism within historic capitalist developments from the post war era onwards. They examine three major areas which they argue were used to continue economic growth through the creation of ‘effective demand’ after the Second World War in the USA. These were: the military industrial complex, the advertising industry, and later financialization. Foster and McChesney (2014:n.p.) assert that these three areas were used to absorb the economic surplus which had been created and stoked during the war.

All of these three areas – marketing, the military/industrial complex and financialisation – they argue drove the “communications revolution” (2014:n.p.) through advances in computing and digital networking but also incorporated surveillance. Through Foster and McChesney we start to see the collision of a technological innovation created by the military, with financialization and surveillance techniques developed through advertising. Foster and McChesney argue these three aspects all rose “parasitically on production” and “were increasingly connected in a web of technology and data sharing” (2014:n.p.). This ‘military-digital complex’ mixes defence technology with internet monopolies further expanding and commodifying both areas while creating “a network of public and private surveillance”. In doing this a system was created in which one form of security and surveillance could slide easily into another. While the military/industrial complex of Truman and Eisenhower’s day created a revolving door between monopoly capitalists in manufacturing, and the government,

²⁸ Zuboff’s first academic article about Surveillance Capitalism was in 2015. It was entitled ‘Big other: surveillance capitalism and the prospects of an information civilization’

presently they argue there is a new interweaving between military and internet giants.

According to Foster and McChesney (2014:n.p.) surveillance capitalism is tied to the development of monopoly capitalism. The market cannot save us from surveillance capitalism because it is a product of the market's development. In the 1970s with the economic surplus still not finding profitable outlets, they argue, 'money capital' flowed into financial trading markets. Data as a commodity would become crucial to the financial speculation markets, the rapid transfer of this data would increase the speed of financial transactions and therefore profitability. Surveillance would be vital to this area in which risks and acquisitions would be assessed based on income, spending habits and lines of credit attached to groups of individuals or companies. The quasi-feudal power Zuboff sees in surveillance capitalism can, from the point of view of Foster and McChesney, be explained in the context of the historic development of monopoly capitalism, its relations to the military/industrial complex, the explosion of marketing and the growing use of financialisation. According to them all these were used to address the surplus absorption problem. The market forms which led to surveillance capitalism were created to keep the economy afloat and prevent a collapse of capitalism under the weight of its own contradictions.

Therefore, while we might see surveillance as a two-stage method of doing, there are problems with reifying this concept and giving surveillance itself person-like agency. Surveillance is part of a process entangled in other processes.

Understanding where the doing of surveillance fits into other functions of capital, rather than taking theories and transforming them to make surveillance the main agent, can give us a better understanding of how power functions. In the following sections I outline where surveillance might fit into a process of primitive accumulation and dispossession, the new enclosures, subsumption, deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation, hegemony and visibility.

Primitive accumulation and dispossession

Through primitive accumulation Marx outlines how capital incorporates something outside of itself. Primitive accumulation, for Marx, is the “original sin” (2013a:501) of capital. A process of the enclosure and expropriation which took place from the late 15th century onwards. It is worth pointing out here that part of his reasoning for examining primitive accumulation was to problematise the fairy tale perpetuated by advocates of capitalism who sanitised and naturalised its origins *à la* Smith (Caffentzis 2013:88). Instead Marx wrote of “so-called primitive accumulation” (2013a:502) originating in “blood and fire” (2013a:503). This process to which capitalism was able to grow out of the economic conditions of feudalism was discussed by Marx in all its violence (Caffentzis 2013:6). This was no gradual change but a sudden break in which a mass of people were expropriated from their land and the means of their own subsistence.

Although Marx wrote this happened differently in different locations he used England as a case study to describe how enclosures occurred. Rosa Luxemburg highlighted that Marx starts by emphasising how this happened through the shifts from agricultural to industrial capital and colonialism. Yet she asserts that after this emphasis on periodisation Marx then moves to only deal with the universality of capitalist production (1951:364-365). For Luxemburg it was vital to understand that the ‘non-capitalist strata’ exists alongside, and was utilised by capitalism (1951:365). Through using insights from Luxemburg, Hannah Arendt saw the violent accumulation of the non-capitalist strata as being part of a repeated process in capitalism – primarily through colonialism (Ulas Ince 2016:413). If Luxemburg and Arendt are correct, this constant revitalisation of capitalism needs a surveillance of the ‘non-capitalist strata’ in order to uncover and direct aspects of this to sustain the market.

David Harvey develops his notion of accumulation by dispossession drawing upon both Luxemburg and Arendt as influences. Although he argues with Luxemburg’s premise of what causes capitalist crises, he sees merit in her overall point in regards to capital needing to absorb something outside of itself to stabilise. As he states, this relates to Hegel’s inner dialectic. (Harvey 2003:140-1)

As Harvey outlines, Hegel noted in the *Philosophy of Right* that bourgeois society's inner contradiction is registered in the fact that it creates over accumulation of wealth and poverty which push it to search for imperial domination and external trade beyond its borders. (Harvey 2003:125) Harvey comments: "Class relations and the state of class struggle within a territorially bounded social formation affect the impetus of a spatio-temporal fix." (ibid) Harvey argues this territorially bounded social formation incorporates something external to it in order to attempt to stabilise these relations in favour of capital. (2003:141,149)

Harvey sees this incorporation as an ongoing process that works in a similar way to that of original or primitive accumulation (2003:144). Here it is the enclosure of land, rights and structures against the commons which dispossesses and creates a private ownership of public wealth. This is what Harvey calls "accumulation by dispossession." (2003:145) He sees this as a way out of overaccumulation where new assets are released which may find profitable areas for surpluses of capital (2003:149). Here accumulation by dispossession crucially helps capital to reproduce itself because new areas are opened up to marketisation allowing capital to invest idle surpluses. In doing so new areas of production are found.

Although he does not go into great detail, Harvey also argues this process can also make use of or create "non-capitalist social formations" (2003:141). This area might not have a set physical territory, rather it could be a point of human interaction. Within capitalists society, interaction is mined to find new ways of commodifying it. From the origins of the advertising industry to the creation of public relations this surveillance of the human has a long history. This is, I argue, a surveillance process that finds new areas which can be accumulated and then dispossessed from their origin to provide further territory to be marketised. Here an area which would have previously been outside of market structures can now be included in this framework.

New Enclosures

The cyclical structure of enclosures and expropriation of the non-capitalist strata has gained prominence in a variety of strands within Marxism. In 1990 the US based Autonomous Marxist magazine *Midnight Notes* – made up of those such as Silvia Federici, George Caffentzis and Peter Linebaugh - published an edition entitled on 'New Enclosures'. As they state: "the Enclosures [...] are not a one time process exhausted at the dawn of capitalism. They are a regular return on the path of accumulation and a structural component of class struggle." (1990:1) For the Midnight Notes Collective enclosures and expropriations are not just a way of accumulating capital, they are also a means of control. The development of enclosures are a process of maintaining a system and structure which supports capitalist relations as well as a means towards profit. In this they see a dynamic occurring between proletarian power and the forces of capital.

When gains are made through class struggle capital is pushed to the periphery. Subsequently capital fights back and encroaches on whatever communal spaces were obtained. Here they see the New Enclosures as a planetary attack on the gains of the 1960s and 1970s. These New Enclosures act as a "large-scale reorganisation of the accumulation process [...] to uproot workers from the terrain on which their organisational power has been built" (1990:3) This is then seen as a battle between an opening up of proletarian space and its closing down by capital. For my purposes the Midnight Notes Collective show how enclosures are both a form of economic extractions and a means of class control. As Midnight Notes states: "Any leap in proletarian power demands a dynamic capitalist response" (1990:1) While class struggles continue to attempt to open up new spaces capital needs to be responsive to these threats which disrupts the process of accumulation and control.

The Midnight Notes Collective do not see the dominance of the New Enclosures as a foregone conclusion though. As they state: "the planet has rung and reverberated with anti-IMF demonstrations, riots and rebellions." (1990:5) While the planetary proletariat have been separated the New Enclosures have also

shown up the modern worldwide workings of capital accumulation. Here they see the global connections of capital laid bare:

for every factory in a free trade zone in China privatized and sold to a New York commercial bank or for every acre enclosed by a World Bank development project in Africa or Asia as part of a 'debt for equality' swap, a corresponding enclosure must occur in the U.S. and Western Europe. (1990:2)

This connection of reciprocity connects the working class across the globe. For them, industrial job losses in mid America relate to exploitation of workers in other areas of the planet. The main method of attack is through "ending communal control of the means of subsistence" (1990:3) wherever these occur. For them, this is another attack on the commons, one that has in turn forced "an internationalism of proletarian action" (1990:6) This is how they understand the global justice movement as a world wide means of rejecting a new form of expropriation.

Drawing on the Midnight Notes Collective's understanding of the New Enclosure, I examine the dynamic struggle over both class control and capital accumulation which occurred on the protests studied in this thesis. The mass forms of direct action explored in this doctoral study relied on both bodies in space and technological assemblages. Examining surveillance processes on these protests we could position them as aiding an enclosure of physical space by the police - a dynamic of class struggle, as well as the enclosure of technological innovations previously in the commons - a dynamic of capital accumulation and resistance. One of the strongest examples of physical enclosures, or of class control, in my thesis is the containment and distraction method used by the police known as the kettle. I show how this tactic displaced other public order procedures after the surveillance and observation of protest. We might see the kettle quite literally as a method of containing protest but it also seems to work, as the Midnight Notes Collective stated in regards to the New Enclosures, as a tool to drain the "energy well of proletarian power" (1990:6). This was done by physically containing and slowly dissipating the crowd before they could use their mass to further control

of the streets. Yet this was also a dynamic struggle in which tactics and strategies were observed back and forth between the police and protesters, though with different relations to and of power.

As well as class control, the alternative technologies developed in the commons specifically for these protests could be situated as being enclosed upon by capital. Here technological structures which aimed to bypass established and commercial news outlets later became subsumed by investment capital driving them into new media conglomerates. Both the independent media centres and the protest livestream which grew out of the J18 can be seen as clear examples of this. While the police observed activists on my field-site subsuming their tactics to find inversions which designed out protest, capital observed the technology growing in the commons enclosing upon this and subsuming it. In doing so, capital utilised these alternative means of media production to find new methods of accumulation.

However class control is a part of capital accumulation and capital accumulation a part of class control. They both play important parts in reproducing capital. The direct action protests I examine often utilised the live body to halt the flow of logistics (for example if they halted traffic). As capital is driven by the free flowing circulation of commodities which need to be produced and valorised, any halting of logistics has a financial consequence. Equally if as Norfield states the financial district itself is part of a global network of value appropriation (2016:2) then any slowing of activity here also has wider financial implications. Therefore, the class control of this space was also a form of facilitating the free movement of capital. In other words class control was a form of economic power. It attempted to avoid major disruption to a key financial hub of global capital.

Conversely the process in which technologies were absorbed by media conglomerates can also be seen as a form of class control. We might think of the alternative forms of distribution which developed out of the J18 - Indymedia and the protest livestream – as having their energy well drained through the development of replications invested in by capital. The process of (again)

solidifying the means of media distribution in the hands of capital can also be seen as a form of class control as well as a developing a new area of accumulative growth. Communicative technologies pervaded public consciousness and could actively disrupt ideological thinking which aids the free flow and functioning of capital. That online distribution systems (ie social media networks) are now closely watched with tools for manipulation and control sold to the highest bidder shows the class control built into the system. As I argue throughout this thesis, protests and class struggle are not idle in the face of capital though. This is a dynamic in which systems of control can also remain areas of resistance, albeit with different relations of and to power.

This was of course only a small, but well publicised aspect of the global struggle. As Silvia Federici wrote in the *Midnight Notes* journal, “[m]assive uprisings and insurrections are but one part of the resistance” (1990:17). She saw daily, localised battles across the world as equally if not more significant. But the relationship the protesters I examine had to the City as a global financial district parallels many of the views from the Midnight Notes Collective. This site for many of the activists groups I study was a global nexus extracting wealth from around the world and impoverishing large swathes of people through debt. Stopping the city was a global action that took place locally. On all the protests I examine these actions were mirrored in different sites across the world. The Midnight Notes Collective equally outlined this as an effective strategy stating an anti-enclosure movement should “both think and act globally and locally” (1990:9) as well as call for a debt and land jubilee. They may well have preferred further engagement on a local level with campaigns that more outwardly highlighted their proletarian, feminist and anti-colonialist roots.²⁹ However, in terms of the movement of the state and capital upon an opening up of a commons, the Midnight Notes Collective provide prescient insights into how this occurs.

²⁹ Furthermore the Midnight Notes Collective do critique aspects of the ecological movement for their class make up (1990:8-9). The Midnight Notes Collective wanted to “reappropriate and hold places from capital while opening spaces for the proletarian movement” (1999:19). While the majority of these protests were not purely from the ecological movement, there was a faction of the ecology movement in each of them. Certainly there were members of all the protests I examine who would identify from a range of backgrounds. Though its difficult to quantify the exact figures from each social grouping the people I met over the course of my research and through experiences of these protests would cover all social classes.

Subsumption

If enclosures control and make gains, we might see subsumption as a means to bring these closer into the workings of capital. To outline this clearly, I will first discuss how Marx understood subsumption and then go on to briefly outline how this was interpreted by Negri (1991)³⁰ and Hardt and Negri (1994, 2000, 2009, 2011). I focus on Hardt and Negri's (2018a, 2018b) interpretation of subsumption that also made links to Harvey's idea of accumulation by dispossession. Therefore my use of these terms together already has a precedent in the work of the authors. Through discussing the relations between these terms, I will show how they can be used to deepen an understanding of surveillance practice on my field-site.

Marx understood subsumption in two ways; formal and real. In *Marx's Economic Manuscripts of 1861-63 Part 3 Relative Surplus Value* Marx outlines what he means by formal and real subsumption of labour by capital. Subsumption for Marx relates to the way in which capital absorbs and then changes the means of production (2010b:93). Using two different stages of subsumption Marx outlines how previous forms of work become subsumed to produce surplus value (2010b:95). Similar to primitive accumulation this also describes a historic development in which the non-capitalist strata is absorbed into the capitalist one. In this case non-capitalist forms of work become capitalist. For Marx formal subsumption refers to how capitalists take control of the means of production. Here they have not substantially changed the process to which the labourer works, it is only that the mode of production is now "subordinated to capital" (2010b:95). Marx sees this predicated on a change in the social, whereby the labourer needs to be able to freely sell their time to the capitalist because they do not own the means to which they can survive (2010b:245). Therefore these terms are also historically situated in social changes.

³⁰ As Steve Wright (2002) shows the adaption of subsumption emerged out of the Italian Workerism movement with those such as Tronti (1971), Bologna (1972) and Negri (1971, 1973, 1976) being inspired by the idea.

In formal subsumption the change is in relation to “domination and subordination” (2010b:96) and the intensity of labour. This might in fact create freedoms if the worker has gone from ‘serf’ or ‘slave’. Conversely it might create a loss of independence if they have gone from ‘self-sustaining peasants’ or ‘craftsman’ to wage labourer. The worker needs wages to provide for their subsistence as they become subsumed in these growing structures. Under formal subsumption Marx states: “the real labour process remains the same, and the way in which it is carried on depends on the relation from which it has developed” (2010b:102). Marx believed under formal subsumption the mode of production changes in its intensity but has a continuity with past practice. It has not changed ‘technologically’. Formal subsumption arrives in tandem in relation to what Marx calls absolute surplus value – the set length of a working day. If surplus value is the extent to which the labourer works over and above what they receive back, then absolute surplus value is that time in absolute terms.

With real subsumption according to Marx the capitalist finds ways to increase *relative* surplus value that is the development of technological and organisation changes in the work force. As Marx states: “With the real subsumption of labour under capital a complete revolution takes place in the mode of production itself, in the productivity of labour, and in the relation — within production — between the capitalist and the worker, as also in the social relation between them”(2010b:107). This mode of production attempts to cut out all workers who do not produce surplus value. Instead it organises workers and machine labour as a whole so that living labour and machines both become automated pieces of the production process. Here this change in the organisational and technical structure of work infects all areas. Marx asserts:

As soon as the capitalist mode of production (i.e. the real subsumption of labour under capital) has taken control of agriculture, the mining industry, the manufacture of the main fabrics for the clothing industry and the transport system, means of locomotion, it gradually conquers the other spheres too, [...] and it does this in the same measure as capital itself develops. This is capital’s tendency. (2010b:112)

Real subsumption of labour contaminates as it finds areas which can be further worked upon to deliver relative surplus value. I argue this searching, finding and contagion act as a form of surveillance. This is the surveillance of the non-capitalist strata to be expropriated and subsumed into relations of capital. In his 1978 lectures on Marx's notebooks, the *Grundrisse*, Negri (1991) re-examined Marx's notion of 'real subsumption'. Here Negri found the real subsumption not just of labour, but of the society as a whole (1991:xxxvii, 114, 131, 142). Some of Negri's (1991) arguments question the law of value and were seen by some to propagate the idea that anti-capitalism should become predominately post-work or post-Fordist in its struggles.³¹

In this aspect I would agree with Caffentzis' critique of Negri (1991) where he states: "The apparent 'crisis of the law of value' in one hundredth of the planet is rectified by a glance at the other ninety-nine hundredths." (Caffentzis 1987:191)³² Or put more recently by David Harvey "the contemporary factories of Bangladesh or Shenzhen, contains abundant evidence of the repeated recreation of the conditions that Marx describes" (2017: 27). However, feminists and anti-colonialist theorists have shown good reason to extend and mutate Marx's theory of value and this has continued to examine labour both paid and unpaid (Dalla Costa and James 1975; Mies 1986; Federici 2009; Caffentzis 2013). In this respect understanding the effect of real subsumption which goes beyond 'waged work'³³ can give us insights to ways in that capital can function at all different levels. This does not negate important struggles around waged labour, it shows how subsumption plays out in a variety of arenas.

Hardt and Negri develop their notion of subsumption in *Labour of Dionysus* (1994) and expand on the idea of subsumption in *Empire* (2000) stating the

³¹ A particular example of this is when he states: "The capitalist supersession of the law of value--what Marx calls the process of real subsumption--dislocates the relations of exploitation as a whole." (xvi)

³² Caffentzis also states of Negri's notion of self valorisations: "not anyone can be self valorizing, to be so one must be in touch with the highest form of capitalist development [...] Negri merely recapitulated Marx's 'forgetting' of slaves and women" (1987:190)

³³ Of course as Caffentzis says he sees "every person's actions as being either work for capital (or preparation for it) or its refusal." (2013:9)

“capitalist subsumption of society tends to be completed in the construction of the world market” (2000:255) Here they outline that formal subsumption relies on an outside but real subsumption only uses techniques to speed up or technologise production. They suggest that capital may have absorbed all of its outside and therefore “postmodern accumulation relies on the real subsumption of the capitalist terrain itself” (2000:272) This assumption of a change in accumulation which relies on notions of subsumption was again critiqued by Caffentzis due to its break with Marx’s notion of value (2005:106). Caffentzis highlights that real subsumption can never completely absorb due to the law of the falling rate of profit (2005:107). Therefore it always needs an outside to absorb back in on itself. While they reform subsumption in *Commonwealth* (2009) with a link towards Harvey’s notion of accumulation by dispossession, more recently they develop this idea in direct conversation with Harvey.

In 2018 the journal *Triple C* published a special edition for Marx’s bicentenary. Within this Hardt and Negri (2018a, 2018b) adapt the notion of subsumption in dialogue with Harvey (2017, 2018b) and mediated by Fuchs (2018). In the first of two articles in this issue Hardt and Negri (2018a) start off citing Harvey’s (2017) book agreeing that capital is value in motion. Yet they argue that there are “new configurations of the ‘technical composition’ of living labour and the “organic composition” of capital” (2018a:415). Through observing new periodic and technical changes they see capital as being “increasingly valorised by cooperative social flows.” (2018a:416) Here they posit that as part of a class struggle ending with neoliberalism, financialisation and the defeat of workers in the late 1970s “the sectors of capitalist production and of society have been radically transformed, extending the primary sites of production from the factory to the social terrain.” (ibid) In this way they argue: “The ‘real subsumption’ here becomes predominant over the ‘formal subsumption’ when society tends toward being completely enveloped by the machine of capitalist valorisation.” (2018a:417) They see the whole of society being subsumed further into capital which continues to invade and become valorized by the cooperative flows in the social terrain. As they state: “in society the mode of production came to be ever more closely interwoven with ‘forms of life.’” (2008a:416) Capital is then seen to

further invade and subsume all aspects of life further enveloping them to generate valorization.

Hardt and Negri connect the idea of real subsumption to that of Harvey's notion of accumulation by dispossession and Marx's primitive accumulation. They see parallels between these terms because real subsumption also takes "possession of the common by capital" and it "dispossesses the producers". Yet they believe real subsumption also goes further than accumulation by dispossession, "The 'real subsumption' represents, in fact, a developed form of the organisation of the exploitation and the social division of labour." (2018a:418) Here they believe capitalist society systematically appropriates wealth from the commons through new forms of organization and subsumed labour. They argue this is not done through violence but rather a new "rationality" (ibid). The forms which were used to reproduce capital then they argue "progressively overlap" (2018a:421) with forms to produce capital. In asserting this they contend capital works "as an historical figure and one produced by class struggle." (2018a:420) While I would agree with their assertions around class struggle and see merit in their notions of subsumption I would never the less question the extent to which Hardt and Negri might push to the side certain areas of labour exploitation which continue to exist.³⁴

In their following article Hardt and Negri (2018b) respond to Harvey's (2018a) notion of universal alienation which permeates all areas of life under capitalism. They connect this the notion of formal and real subsumption. Here they state: "the social world of the real subsumption maps closely to that of universal alienation. But the two concepts of subsumption, formal and real, are together able to illuminate better than alienation the multiplicities of capitalist rule." (Hardt and Negri 2018b:441) After charting the development of these terms from Marx and their relevance to the work of Luxemburg, they discuss their use in the work of

³⁴ For example they state: "with respect to the concept of exploitation, engaging the new figures of alienation and the reification of labour means delving into the effects of subjectivation revealed by the new relationships between variable capital and fixed capital. This leads us to ask if it is possible that, wherever exploitation effects the cognitive, social, and cooperative components of living labour the dialectic of capture and appropriation of value-labour by capital is broken." (Hardt and Negri 2018a:419)

Negri (1991) and the 'real subsumption of society under capitalism'. Here they argue that formal and real subsumption can happen through historic periodalisation, as well as being an ongoing process. As they state: "Capital is still working on, incorporating, and functioning alongside not just labour practices but also various social forms that come from its 'outside'." (Hardt and Negri 2018b:442) But as before these outsides for them constitute a common which is absorbed by capital. For them this is key as they state: "Contemporary capitalist circuits of production and reproduction, we claim, function primarily through the extraction and expropriation of the common, both natural forms of the common and, most importantly, socially produced forms of the common." (2018b:444) In absorbing this common and putting it to use for circuits of production and reproduction, for Hardt and Negri formal and real subsumption are crucial. This is because:

formal subsumption provides a hinge between the present and various pasts, illuminating the relations between capital and its outsides as well as the different paths of capitalist development, real subsumption highlights how capital continually produces and reproduces differences and structures of rule within its domain, through 'properly capitalist' means. (2018b:442)

Formal and real subsumption become stages of absorbing the outside and integrating it into a capitalist structure of production and reproduction. Rather than homogenizing these forms as one it creates 'multiplicities'. These multiplicities highlight relations of race, class, gender and sexuality. As they state: "The recognition that all social relations, not just labour, tend to be subsumed under capital forces us, then, to theorise the dynamics among class, race, gender, and other axes of subordination." (ibid) Therefore "the common is a framework for understanding the multiplicities within capital." (2018b:444) The figure of the multitude is for them the modern proletariat; the political figure of struggle. As they state: "Multitude thus summarises for us the analytical and political trajectory that extends from the recognition of the multiplicities within capital to the articulation of struggles in a coherent political project." (2018b:447) Regardless of whether we assert the political subject is within the proletariat or the multitude, the subsumption of the subject within capital can be seen to occur

across different areas of working and social life. Yet, I would argue in order for social relations to be more fully absorbed they need to first be observed and highlighted to capital. This is where I would place the role of subsumptive surveillance.

While Harvey (2018b) agrees that the extension of formal and real subsumption by Hardt and Negri has a great deal of merit, he finds that in use these terms need to be accompanied by specifics. He argues Hardt and Negri need to be more “explicit about what it is that is being subsumed into what” (Harvey 2018b:450). Here he wants to outline how different areas of social life become absorbed by the multifunctioning arenas of capital. (Harvey 2018b:450-1)³⁵. Seeing the workings of capital as it goes through processes of production, valorization, circulation or distribution is vitally important to the notion of subsumption. (Fuchs 2018:464). Particularly because as Harvey states this method of subsumption effects both what is subsumed and what aspect of capital subsumes it. As he states: “The subsumption has profound effects upon that into which [...] is subsumed. It is not merely that the subsumed can be indigestible to that which gobbles it up.” (Harvey 2018b:452) Therefore building on Harvey’s critique I attempt, within this thesis, to show where and how subsumption took place.

Capital is constantly adapting and revolutionizing the means of production and reproduction. As Fuchs (2018) states summarizing the dialogue between Harvey and Hardt and Negri:

Capitalism has always lived from economically instrumentalising non-capitalist milieus, practices, structures, and social systems [...] For capitalism to continue to exist, it needs to again and again subsume social relations under capital. Subsumed social relations can subsequently also qualitatively transform capitalism itself. (2018:464)

This process of subsumption dispossesses something from the commons transferring it to a specific area within the production or reproduction of capital. Yet before it can do this it must first surveil the commons. It must first conduct a

³⁵ For example Harvey sites the subsumption of the *housing market* within the *circulation of interest-bearing capital* (Harvey 2018b:450-1)

‘focused, systematic and routine attention to *social* details for purposes of influence, management, protection or direction.’ While so far I have shown how theorising this can be done through both dispossession and subsumption I will now move on to examining reterritorialisation.

Deterritorialisation and Reterritorialisation

Where Hardt and Negri saw the common being absorbed through subsumption Deleuze and Guattari (1983, 1987) see a shifting of capitalist space through deterritorialisation and a subsumption in reterritorialisation. While some found their writing leading to an a-political flattening of power structures in specific disciplines (Wachsmuth et al 2011)³⁶ others focused on the Marxism within Deleuze and Guattari’s thinking (Massumi 1992; Surin and Hasty 1994; Holland 1999, 2014; Thoburn 2003; Kerslake 2015; Sotiris 2016; Kelly 2018). Specifically Thoburn examines how, within their understanding of politics the nature of capital was key to a Deleuzean and Guattarian understanding of the social machine (2003:2). While Thoburn provides an excellent outline of Deleuzian thinking in relation to minor politics and Marx, my specific interest in their work for this thesis revolves around how they formalised in language key points Marx outlined. These relate to a double movement Marx detailed within the structure of capital which they discuss in terms of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation. I use these terms in an attempt to further describe how capital and the capitalist state absorbs ideas, technologies and organisational assemblages which break free of established structures. The highlighting of this is key for understanding the surveillance of protest on my field-site and how this process works inline with the movements of capital. Below I will outline where the parallels occur between on one side Deleuze and Guattari and on the other Marx. After doing this I will highlight why these terms are important to understanding of subsumptive surveillance.

³⁶ Specifically within Urban Studies David Wachsmuth et al (2011) outline a problem with so called ‘assemblage theory’ which appropriated the work of Deleuze and Guattari’s as well as Latour. This interpretation was seen to flatten power structures, without an appropriate understanding of the critical geopolitical economy as previously seen in the work of Harvey (1982), Lefebvre (2014), Massey (1994), Smith (1984), Soja (1989).

While the examination of the driving force of desire was crucial to the discussions in *Anti-Oedipus* and *A Thousand Plateaus*, in their descriptions of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation Deleuze and Guattari often come back to Marx as an inspiration for these terms. In *Anti-Oedipus* they state: “capitalism, through its process of production, produces an awesome schizophrenic accumulation of energy or charge, against which it brings all its vast powers of repression to bear, but which nonetheless continues to act as capitalism's limit.” (1983:34) Here they hark back to capitalism's ‘process of production’ to understand the schizophrenic charge which is emitted from this – one which creates a rhythm that pushes endlessly forward and simultaneously instigates limits to which it must escape from or avoid. They specifically relate this counteracting tendency to Marx stating:

Marx termed the twofold movement of the tendency to a falling rate of profit, and the increase in the absolute quantity of surplus value, the law of the counteracted tendency. As a corollary of this law, there is the twofold movement of decoding or deterritorializing flows on the one hand, and their violent and artificial reterritorialization on the other. (1983:34-5)

Therefore the twofold movement of deterritorialisation and reterritorialization is presented as a consequence of an important ‘law’ in the work of Marx.³⁷ Here they refer in part to what Marx in Volume 3 of *Capital* called the “double-edged law” of “the Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall.” (2013b:153) This ‘law’ describes how capitalist competition leads to increased investment in production, technology and new organisational models which attempt to speed up labour. But as labour is sped up the surplus value within each commodity falls. Therefore Marx argues the rates of profit will in fact fall as investment in constant capital (dead labour) out ways variable capital (living labour). Yet at the same time counteracting tendencies are at play. While profits may have the tendency to fall, the total surplus value may rise within the whole of capitalist society. There is more surplus value produced overall because more items are being produced across

³⁷ As they continue in this quote: “The more the capitalist machine deterritorializes, decoding and axiomatizing flows in order to extract surplus value from them, the more its ancillary apparatuses, such as government bureaucracies and the forces of law and order, do their utmost to reterritorialize, absorbing in the process a larger and larger share of surplus value” (1983:34-5) Here they outline the capitalist's state works to reterritorialise what capital has deterritorialised

the spectrum of capitalist society. In this way value is pulled in two contradictory direction within capital.

Equally in order to keep a growth in capital new investments need to be made. Capital needs to go through the cycle of siphoning off surplus value from labour. With new labour intensive production industry and capital create new sources from which to extract surplus value. New ideas are needed to start the process of surplus labour creation, to be put back into a machine which extracts, yet once they do they eventual fall fowl of the falling, stale environment which needed renewal in the first place. It is this double movement of capital which creates its schizophrenic nature. Here this charged quality emanates from two contradictory aspects deeply ingrained in capital's mode of production. As Deleuze and Guattari outline from Marx:

In Capital Marx analyses the true reason for this double movement [...] Under the first aspect capitalism is continually surpassing its own limits, always deterritorializing further, 'displaying a cosmopolitan, universal energy which overthrows every restriction and bond'; but under the second, strictly complementary, aspect, capitalism is continually confronting limits and barriers that are interior and immanent to itself, and that, precisely because they are immanent, let themselves be overcome only provided they are reproduced on a wider scale (always more reterritorialization—local, world-wide, planetary). (1983:259)

There is a constant overcoming and reintroducing following a pattern of deterritorialisation and reterritorialization which emanates from of capital's mode of production and affecting the relations of production. Capital overcomes its material conditions but then reintroduces the framework inherent in these conditions more widely. In the section quoted above Deleuze and Guattari quote Marx's *Economic and Philosophic Manuscript*, but equally we can see this interplay in various works of Marx and of Engels. In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels highlight how the 'instrument of production' affects the 'whole relations of society':

The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and

with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionising of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind. The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the entire surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connexions everywhere. (Marx and Engels 1990:17-18)

It is here that we see the deterritorial flows which are so important to capital are both economic and social. They create new areas of growth for capital to obtain surplus value from every corner of the earth. Endless accumulation is needed for endless growth and new market make this possible. Yet equally this is social. They deeply affect conditions. The social connections which exist between people –the processes of creating subsistence for ones fellow humans – are turned into relations between things. The deterritorial flows which freed us from feudalism are reterritorialised back into capitalism. This process then is repeated ad nauseum. Innovations which deterritorialise forms of production are reterritorialised to expand markets. The deterritorialised ideas which drove these innovations are then ploughed back into the ideology of capital before they can create further disruptions in social relations.

What Deleuze and Guattari see as the schizophrenic nature of capitalism pulls capital in two directions as it goes through this process of deterritorialising and reterritorialising. Again this can clearly been seen in Marx's work towards the end of Capital Volume 3. As Marx states: "Capitalist production seeks continually to overcome these immanent barriers, but overcomes them only by means which again place these barriers in its way and on a more formidable scale." (2013b:176) Capitalism grows by overcoming the barriers set by itself, only to put these in place again on a wider scale. Yet this is a process riddled with contradictions, as Marx said:

The limits within which the preservation and self-expansion of the value of capital resting on the expropriation and pauperisation of the great mass of producers can alone move — these limits come continually into conflict with the methods of production employed by capital for its purposes, which drive towards unlimited extension of production, towards production as an end in itself, towards unconditional development of the social productivity of labour. The means — unconditional development of the productive forces of society — comes continually into conflict with the limited purpose, the self-expansion of the existing capital.”(2013b:176)

For Marx capital contradicts endlessly, it impoverishes and exploits the very people who give it its value, it attempts to endlessly expand against the limits of existing capital formations and eventually it becomes a process of “production as an end in itself” (2013b:176). In conclusion Marx states the ultimate contradiction of capitalism: “the real barrier of capitalist production is capital itself” (2013b:176). Capital cannot overcome its contradictions – rather it eventually destroys its methods of production only to recreate them in a new form on a wider scale. Here capital’s purpose is not to the benefit and freedom of what has been liberated via deterritorialisation, but rather to find new markets which are reterritorialised as part of its basic means of functioning. As Marx argues:

It is that capital and its self-expansion appear as the starting and the closing point, the motive and the purpose of production; that production is only production for capital and not vice versa, the means of production are not mere means for a constant expansion of the living process of the society of producers. (2013b:176)

Capitalism is a malfunctioning machine expanding as it short circuits itself. It gains its power from the living labour which provides the energy for production, yet constantly attempts to lower this labour’s ability to survive. Within this system the ‘motive and purpose of production’ is to increase capital while the ‘living process’ gets squeezed out. What we saw Marx and Engels call ‘everlasting uncertainty and agitation’ is used against the forces of labour who are alienated from their collective role as the producers of society’s goods. Yet equally the malfunctioning machine of capital must continue this movement of destroying its

older form as it reproduces itself as a type of inbuilt matriphagy. It is this two fold movement of destroying and reproducing which becomes of intense interest to Deleuze and Guattari as it almost combines into one: “the law of the falling tendency—that is, limits never reached because they are always surpassed and always reproduced—has seemed to us to have as a corollary and even as a direct manifestation, the simultaneity of the two movements of deterritorialization and reterritorialization.” (1983:259-260) Here we can see deterritorialising and reterritorialising appearing out of a central contradiction that Marx saw in capital. What Deleuze and Guattari see in this process is a psychic charge that invades all of society. For them this practice is deeply tied to the system of capital. As they state:

Capitalism is inseparable from the movement of deterritorialization, but this movement is exorcised through factitious and artificial reterritorializations. Capitalism is constructed on the ruins of the territorial and the despotic, the mythic and the tragic representations, but it re-establishes them in its own service and in another form, as images of capital. (1983:303)

Freedom from oppression is delivered into exploitation. Here Deleuze and Guattari see this coming from capital's own origins. Just as the mode of production develops a schizophrenic charge through this process it also develops this in the subject. Again they turn to Marx to explain this: “Marx summarizes the entire matter by saying that the subjective abstract essence is discovered by capitalism only to be put in chains all over again, to be subjugated and alienated—no longer, it is true, in an exterior and independent element as objectify, but in the element, itself subjective, of private property.” (1983:303) For them this is split between the two halves of the capitalist subject – the subject of the ‘political economy’ and the subject of the ‘libidinal economy’ - alienated from both their labour and desire. (1983:337) Here we see the freeing of subjective abstract essence deterritorialised from feudalism and then reterritorialised back into capital through private property.

This movement within capital is one that pervades throughout all aspects of daily life. As the work of Deleuze and Guattari developed through *A Thousand Plateaus*

deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation became linked to terms such as the diagram, the assemblage and the line of flight. While they discuss the importance of the deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation in relation to the tetravalent assemblage and the horizontal axis of the machinic assemblage vs the collective assemblage of enunciation, my interest for this project is where these terms continue to give further insights into particular areas of Marx.

Thoburn (2003) highlights how social assemblages are composed by their line of flight, the path used out of the last formation. These social assemblages are as he says: “determined as much by what escapes them as by what they fix” (2003:29) While they are sometimes pitted against each other Thoburn acknowledges the line of flight is comparable to the ‘contradiction’ for Marx. As Thoburn states for Marx and Deleuze and Guattari: “The essence of capital is that it continually sets free its lines of flight – its mad scientists, its countercultures, its warmongers – in order to open new territories for exploitation. It is thus a perpetual process of setting and breaking limits.” (ibid)

Here the process of deterritorialisation reinvents while reterritorialisation drives this back into a capitalist mode of production – a means of finding surplus value. Essentially this is the laissez faire capitalism that lets things happen, that lets things go. On one hand these lines of flight create new areas to exploit through breaking the limits previously set. They move towards unexplored directions and reterritorialise capital in new formations. On the other hand these lines of flight deterritorialise via innovative frameworks which break previous patterns. Thoburn argues these are sometimes paths which Marx, Deleuze and Guattari thought could be used to take us out of capitalism if their reterritorialisation were pushed past or avoided.

If capital needs to let things happen, if it needs to break its own limits then within these moments or along certain paths created there might be the opportunity to mobilise an escape towards an alternative. As Thoburn says discussing Marx’s theory of capital as a complex every changing organism: “The crucial point about the capitalist socius is that, unlike all previous modes of production which sought

to conserve a set of relations and identities, it operates through constant change” (2003:63). However within this system Thoburn argues we see an organisation of human and technical forces that attempt to follow the forces which exploit in an attempt to obtain surplus value. It is here that a process of automation occurs subsuming through the “supra-individual automaton of the capitalist socius” (ibid) – ie through work for capital.

It is within this process of maximising surplus value the contradictions of capital – where the real barrier to capitalist production is capital itself – play out forcing it to find new arrangements and revolutionise means. There is a fetishisation of production for the sake of production. This charge of energy finds its way through all walks of life subsuming ‘mechanical and intellectual organs’ (Marx 1973:692 quoted in Thoburn 2003:63). As such it creates an intellectual, organisational and social drive towards the deterritorialisation of previous forms only to be reterritorialised back into the capitalist mode of production. It infects thinking.

I would argue this illuminates a key use of surveillance by capital; that our thinking towards the creation of social wealth has been colonised by the thinking of capital production and reproduction. Capital needs – and has always needed – to conduct a surveillance of use values to be turned into exchange values because as Marx stated a commodity needs both a use value and an exchange value. It needs to have a use – whether this fits a need, want or desire – and fit within a process of capitalist exchange – whether this is digital, off line or a mixture of both. In a finite material world, markets are not unlimited. New areas need to be opened up. I would argue the constant surveillance of the human and their needs, wants and desires are crucial to increasing market expansion and the creation of surplus value. In order to continue capital needs to introduce new territories (figurative or otherwise) into the capitalist mode of production. This then relies on new territories being found through surveillance and accumulated.

While part of this surveillance drills down into the everyday interactions of people commodifying and mirco-directing behaviours, another part looks towards new formations. As we will see in this dissertation, the ‘non-capitalist

strata' can be a figurative territory created by those who are opposed to capital. Within the City of London activists and technologists within protest movements have attempted to create innovative forms of communication which bypass those owned by media conglomerates. It allowed protesters logistical and communicative possibilities that were not available to them previously. In creating these they also helped to developed a new area of the 'non-capitalist strata'; a new common. This deterritorialised previous forms of communication. However these later became reterritorialised back into the media conglomerates of Silicon Valley.

Hegemony and visibility

Alvaro Sevilla-Buitrago (2015) argues for a notion of enclosure and subsumption which connects and grounds them spatially while understanding their relation to state and capital. As he asserts: "Enclosure's work of subsumption is deployed through practices of territory whereby state and market rationalities penetrate" (2015:6). While we might see capitals movements being driven by an inbuilt schizophrenia through Deleuze and Guattari, it also has rationalities, which attempt to direct and regulate; to protect its vulnerabilities and absorb a commons for economic and class control. For Sevilla-Buitrago the notion of hegemony is deeply tied to this process. He argues:

enclosure is fundamentally an ingredient of hegemonic projects aimed at the subjugation of antagonistic social spaces; that dispossession and displacement are usually not an unintended damage of enclosure but a strategic goal, functional to class hegemony at many levels; and that, even if the state is not absolutely indispensable, the most far-reaching and neatly strategic enclosure campaigns in history involve extra-economic force and state institutions, discourses and knowledge as essential tools to tame spaces of communal resistance. (2015:6)

Sevilla-Buitrago highlights that Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony can be used to help understand specific forms of influence relevant to enclosure and subsumption and therefore subsumptive surveillance processes.³⁸ Gramsci's

³⁸ The notion of hegemony has been more recently aligned with the post-Marxist thought of Laclau and Mouffe (1985). This is often pitted as a new form of radical democracy against those who discuss the multitude (see Kioupkiolis and Katsambekis 2014). I am not using the term

concept of hegemony describes how “common sense” (2003:326) is in part developed as a political process of domination.³⁹ Gramsci saw hegemony as an important part of holding together the power of the ruling class because it allowed the building of a consensus. As such this avoids a “crisis of authority” (2003:275) becoming part of the unspoken glue used to keep the state functioning.

Hall asserts dominant hegemonic understandings are sustained because the ruling classes are generally successful in “framing all competing definitions within their range, bringing all alternatives within their horizon of thought” (Hall 1977:333). This does not mean that outlooks are homogenous, rather that blocs of the ruling class are able to frame different perspectives in a way that supports dominant-hegemonic understandings. Stuart Hall et al interpreted this as developing an “ideological frame which [is] laid across the field of social vision” (1978:29). As such surveillance of perspectives are needed to subsume alternatives into a social vision – an encompassing horizon of thought.

As Hall et al state these frames which encompass horizons of thought extend into societal and institutional structures and are often used as “background frames of reference” (1978:54). This can both aid the formalisation of consent and help implement coercive methods (Sabir 2017:209). Hall et al argue these frames become crucial in the “construction of the news story” (1978:54). As Hall states these frames become ‘naturalised’ as the dominant way of encoding and decoding media texts (2006:167). In relation to the police these maintenance what law scholar Lawless terms “institutional frames of reference” (2011:674). As such these frames “reproduce class relations, and thus class subordination” (Clarke et al 2006:30). As Gramsci argues it is not just that hegemony supports coercion, it is deeply linked to it. It balances out coercion, but by doing so it touches its contours (2003:12-13). This is because coercion needs to, as he states “appear to

‘hegemony’ in this way but rather as a means of understanding aspects of state and capitalist power in relation to surveillance and counter surveillance. This relates to an approach in Rizwaan Sabir (2017) who sees surveillance and hegemony as interconnected.

³⁹ Carroll and Ratner highlight how hegemony as a concept originated from the Russian Marxism of the late 19th century (1994:5), however when the concept was used by Lenin it was as a strategy for obtaining power (1994:7)

be based on the consent of the majority, expressed by the so-called organs of public opinion” (2003:80).

Rizwaan Sabir argues that hegemony and surveillance mutually support each other. He asserts Gramsci’s notion of hegemony operates within “the grey area between coercion and consent” (2017:209). As he states UK counter-terrorism programs utilise a counterinsurgency doctrine in which hard and soft power are combined (2017:207).⁴⁰ These relate to both a show of force and influence activity required for the building of hegemony (2017:208). Sabir shows how UK counter-terrorism tactics use surveillance as a way to uphold hegemony by both inciting fear and informing propaganda (2017:212-14). Through Sabir we can start to see how processes of surveillance and hegemony might be interwoven especially as slippages continue between the policing of terrorism and protest.

We might also see the counterinsurgency further combining with the framing of sight. Nicholas Mirzoeff discusses this in his interpretation of visibility. Visibility, Mirzoeff (2011) asserts, is the authority’s claim on how to see. It is not purely optical but made up of information, ideas and images which assemble together to, as Mirzoeff puts it: “manifest the authority of the visualizer” (2011:474). Visibility oppresses the individuals ‘right to look’, through a process of classifying and separating the visible; making these categories and divisions seem natural and therefore aesthetic (2011:476). In contemporary times⁴¹ Mirzoeff sees visualisation as directed by the doctrine of the counterinsurgency which attempts to maintain the ability to sort, partition, and then naturalise these categories in aesthetic form (2011:475).

⁴⁰ Crucially as Sabir outlines contemporary counter terrorism continues historic practices to maintain control against “the racialised ‘other’” as the counter insurgency doctrine “is a continuation of colonial warfare on the ‘home-front’” (2017:204). For further details on this historic relationship see: Jenny Hocking’s (1988) ‘Counterterrorism as Counterinsurgency: A British Experience’

⁴¹ This developed, according to Mirzoeff, from the monitoring of slave plantations in the 17th century in which the overseer maintained the right to look while the enslaved could not meet his gaze. It continued and developed through the 18th century where the General was tasked with visualising numerous battlefields with information supplied by underlings.

Within the two-stage process of surveillance the visual can appear both at the front end in optical form and at the back end in visuality. As Mirzoeff asserts: “This ability to discern meaning in both the medium and the message generates visuality’s aura of authority” (2011:479). In this way understanding both subsumptive and visual surveillance also means understanding frames and connections built by contemporary visuality. This is a continual process of isolating what is ignored and why. As such this highlights the ideological drivers which code viewing to understand how vision becomes intertwined with dominant frames.

As Hall stated while dominant-hegemonic positions may be presented there are also negotiated or oppositional interpretations (2006:171-173). Although these can be incorporated into a horizon of thought, as Clarke et al highlight Gramsci also believed among the general populous these naturalised hegemonic frames and understandings could be shifted (2006:31-32). According to these theorists this can become - at least in part - a contentious site. Similarly Raymond Williams states: “we have to emphasize that hegemony is not singular; indeed that its own internal structures are highly complex, and have continually to be renewed, recreated and defended; and by the same token, that they can be continually challenged and in certain respects modified” (Williams 1973:8).

For the protests I examine in this thesis, public communications have been a divisive area. At times the established press became a space in which dominant hegemonic understandings were used in order to help track activists – like in the J18 (as we will see in part 2). Alternatively, in the aftermath of the G20 and at the beginning of Occupy LSX traditional news outlets were used in an attempt to fracture frames around policing or provide a counter-hegemonic understanding of the protest. As new forms of public communications were developed, they also became absorbed by new forms of control. As such I assert hegemonic and counter hegemonic battles over public communications can also be viewed as battles over surveillant and counter surveillant space.

Conclusion

Within this section I outlined the use of terms such as enclosure, subsumption (formal and real), deterritorialisation, reterritorialisation, and lines of flight. As I showed these have foundations in Marx and give insight into the further development of Marxist thought in relation to surveillance. Throughout my dissertation I will use them and to describe a process of surveillance and subsumption which occurred both through police tactics and from capital. Throughout the dissertation I will use these terms to outline how surveillance is used to enclose the commons of both physical bodies in space and of communicative structures. This fits with Marx's understanding of how subsumption occurred in terms of the reorganisation of living bodies and technological revolutions. Organisational and technological structures are the bed rock of how Marx sees relative surplus value driving real subsumption.

Through this dissertation I will use these terms along with subsumptive surveillance, hegemony and visibility to examine the relationship between direct action protest, police and capital on my field site. I use the terms deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation to discuss the ways in which assent from previously organised structures and technologies were developed leaving an established order, before being ploughed back into a new one. I will examine the ways in which optical forms and visibility are used to guide surveillance process which suppress dissent. I argue these create links between hard and soft power and develop safe spaces for capital to circulate. While this may 'drain the energy well of proletarian power' I also assert this happens within a dynamic of class struggle in which the events that play out in the City of London can lay repressive structures bare.

Chapter 2 - Protest Prehistory

In this chapter I give a background to the protest and policing forms which were developed in relation to the main case studies examined in this thesis. I start with briefly examining the origins of my field-site and the police containment tactic colloquially known as the kettle. I move on to explore what kind of common was being built by activists who would later take part in the Carnival Against Capitalism (J18). Here I am specifically interested in the counter surveillant knowledge that was developed in the long lead up to J18 and how this helped advance specific protest and technical formation. As such I spend the majority of the chapter giving a background to protest forms and counter surveillance tactics developed in relation to: the Stop the City protests; the anti-roads movement; the emergence of video activism; the No M11 campaign; and the linking of Reclaim the Streets with the Zapatistas rebellion. My main aim is to examine how this movement of activists developed learning and counter surveillance forms through the act of struggle and the interplay that went on with forces of capital and the state.

The City of London a brief contextual history

The City of London is still roughly set within its near 2000 year old square mile boundary. But even in its origins as a Roman fort or encampment, the City very soon afterwards became known as a place of commerce (Ackroyd 2001:24)⁴² This area has been governed by the City of London Corporation as an independent quasi-city state since its rights were enshrined in the Magna Carta in 1215AD (Bloom 2003:21). Because the royalty heavily drew on the City for financing from the 12th and 13th century onwards its 'citizens' were given certain rights of self determination (Keene 2008:70).⁴³ Its huge wealth, power and influence would be

⁴² The wall around the City, built in approximately 200AD, incorporated previous systems of fortification (Redfern and Bonney 2014:215) as well as reflecting the Roman City's status (Esmonde Cleary 1987:166). As such London implemented many of the ancient laws around City status from Rome (Keene 2008:75).

⁴³ St Paul's Cross was site of the ancient folkmoot (Blayney 2000:339), "the ground where the citizens used to assemble when summoned by a bell" (2000:325). Pamela Nightingale (1987:563) argues this was implemented by Edward the Elder when it was taken over by him in the 10th century Here as Amy Appleford states they: "convened three times a year for the election of sheriffs and other civic functions" (Appleford 2015:87).

respected by invaders, like William the Conqueror, even as the English armies were slain. (Borer 1977: 48) The refusal in the 17th century to incorporate many of the areas to which we now call Greater London – Westminster, Clerkenwell, Whitechapel, Southwark – meant that as the other boroughs grew, two Londons began to emerge; one inside the other. (Glasman 2014:n.p.)⁴⁴

Throughout the late 17th and early 18th century the City's grandees were key in moving parliament and king towards the modern market economy with all the legal, institutional and ideological shifts that entailed (Bloom 2003:110). The City could do this through wielding their status as the world's largest port and through their continual financing of colonial military interventions (Roberts and Kynaston 2001:5). It housed the Royal Exchange seen as the "heart of the mercantile community" (Kynaston 2012:9). As such the City linked the financing of naval power to a development of private enterprise and vice versa. The linking of these two areas was crucial to merchant capital which eventually to usurp feudalism (Bunyan 1983:301). This helped pave the way for an emerging industrial capital to find its mode of production with primitive accumulation gained through the brute force of colonialism (Marx 2013a:525).

The areas where expropriated wealth would circulate needed their own enclosures. The City was permitted by an Act of Parliament in 1663 to employ one thousand nightwatchmen to protect the docks and their ships and warehouses (Bunyan 1983:59). This provided a step towards the safe movement of half of the world's goods through London and as Bunyan states: "By far the largest users of the port were the West Indies merchants whose sugar was the product of slave-based agriculture." (1983:60) In 1798 City Magistrate Patrick Colquhoun reformed this into policing along the Thames (ibid) with Justice of the Peace John Harriot. Jeremy Bentham helped them to draft the Thames Police bill and convince the West Indies merchants to provide the money for this police force (UCL 2019:n.p). Here it was the beneficiaries of the slave trade who would fund an embryonic police force that helped to inspire Robert Peel's Metropolitan Police

⁴⁴ Up until the mid-18th century, when the London Wall was almost completely demolished, City of London still had, as Ackroyd states, "the appearance of a fortress" (Ackroyd 2001:22).

Service (Everett 1969:67-69). As Micol Seigel argues the cross over between public and private policing existed from the institutions beginning (2018:21-22).

Yet the origins of the police had a wider context. As Alex S. Vitale argues it was the development of new protest movements in the 19th century like the Chartists and the assertion of workers rights which showed the need for a professionalized public police force (2017:36). Bunyan states: “To enforce public order the police, rather than the army, were used increasingly to break up political meetings in London and to spy on working-class movements.” (Bunyan 1983:63) Here it was Robert Peel’s experience of colonial occupation which would inspire the creation of the force to which British policing is modeled on. The force started in 1829 with the claim that “the police are the public and the public is the police” (quoted in Clover 2016:170) By embedding themselves more fully within crowds and communities police could locate and deal with dissidents at lower costs and to greater effect than the army (Vitale 2017:35). This is what E.P. Thompson calls the “feed-back of imperialism” (1979:9) where the experience gained in colonial deployment comes back to control subversives in the coloniser’s homeland.⁴⁵

The modern day City of London is a nerve centre of international finance deeply entangled with its global workings (Norield 2016:xii). In its last *Corporate Plan* (2015-2019) the City of London stated its top strategic aim was: “To support and promote The City as the world leader in international finance and business services.” (2015a:4) As a police authority the City passes this ideology onto the force in an uncomplicated manor. The City of London Police state on their website: “Protecting the City as a global financial centre remains a key priority for the City of London Police and, as the nature of the threat evolves, deterrence measures need to develop accordingly.” (City of London Police 2014a)

⁴⁵ For more information on the ties between the history of state violence, ‘criminal justice’ and British colonialism see: Tony Bunyan’s (1981) ‘The Police Against the People’; Richard James Popplewell (1995) *Intelligence and Imperial Defense: British Intelligence and the Defense of the Indian Empire 1904-1924*; Clare Anderson’s (2004) *Legible Bodies: Race, Criminality and Colonialism in South Asia*; John Newsinger (2006) *The Blood Never Dried: A People’s History of the British Empire*; Mark McGovern’s (2015) ‘State violence and the colonial roots of collusion in Northern Ireland’

The City's financial institutions have grown in dominance since the late 1960s. The 1967 companies act removed the limit on the legal maximum of partners and allowed firms to grow vastly in size. (Kynaston 2011:507). This was further encouraged in the 1970s with the neoliberal turn (Harvey 2014:136) Through the 1986 financial services bill the City of London opened up to new traders, firms and foreign investment (Zaloom 2006:73). What was called at the time the 'Big Bang' opened the City as a key node in the neoliberal capitalist structure and reflected the growing internationalisation of the market (Kynaston 2011:561). Tony Norfield argues finance is used to extract surplus value from the rest of the world in an attempt to control of the globe's resources through the financial system (2016:xi-xii). For him: "the UK financial system is a structural part of the international operations of British capitalism, underpinning the role of Britain as an imperial power" (2016:14). As such he sees this as exploitation through financial appropriation (2016:19). If the City is a site of capital logistics, then its protection is key to capitals smooth running. As such with new protest forms new enclosures would also be found.

The kettle: a protest enclosure

The main form of physical enclosure I examine in relation to surveillance is the public order containment tactic, colloquially known as the kettle. The kettle attempts to hold a crowd in one place using police bodies to surround them (Sørli 2012:2).⁴⁶ Due to the large numbers of police this takes kettling operations often use mobile railings or utilise aspects of the built environment to aid containment (Joyce and Wain 2014:154). Some scholars see the kettle originating in Germany in response to the 6 June 1986 anti-nuclear protest in Hamburg (see Neal et al 2019:1046; Wood 2015:49; Sørli 2012:2). As Sørli highlights 'kesselschlact' is the German word for a military encirclement "literally a 'cauldron battle'" (2012:2) which is etymologically linked to word for surrounded or encircled; "eingekesselt" (ibid). It may be that the root of these words 'kessel' (Hind 2016:40) is where the English term kettle originates from.

⁴⁶ Kettle is also defined by the Home Affairs Committee as "detaining people in a confined area for a sustained period of time" (2009:2).

However there are a number of competing start dates for the appearance of the police kettle. In the UK containment tactics were observed earlier than 1986 at the 1983-4 Stop the City (STC) actions (Joyce and Wain 2014:11; Metzger 2011:n.p.). Sue Sims the Association of Chief of Police Officers [ACPO] lead on Public Order stated in 2009: "the containment tactic has been around since the [ACPO] manuals began" (Home Affairs Committee 2009:Ev25). But even before the ACPO was formed in 1948 (National Police Chiefs' Council 2019:n.p.) containment tactics were observed. In policing a 1908 protest of Suffragettes in Parliament Square, the *Daily Express* stated officers formed a ring around the activists as a means of containing them (Cowman 2007:262 in Gilmore 2013:155).

Others argue the kettle is a phenomenon that appears just after the formation of the Metropolitan Police Service in 1829. Both Rosenberg (2015:3) and Webb (2015:17) assert that in May 1833 the Met police responded to an outdoor political meeting of the National Union of the Working Classes by violently kettling protesters. The NUWC met in Cold bath Fields to protest about the lack of workers' rights and representation in parliament (Rosenberg 2015:2). Afterwards the *Spectator Newspaper* reported that local resident Nathaniel Stallwood, of No. 13 Calthorpe Street was observing events from his balcony. He commented that when the rally began "all the avenues from the vacant piece of ground, where the meeting was held were blockaded up by large bodies of Police". He said police were: "ordered to draw their staves from their pockets and began to charge indiscriminately. No resistance was made by the crowd at any time. The system of knocking everybody down continued for an hour". As such he shouted to the police that "they were acting illegally, as neither the Riot Act nor the Proclamation had been read, nor any opportunity given to the people to escape." (1833:444)⁴⁷ If this was the first police kettle the containment tactic in its origin was linked to the use of force and an attack on the rights of political assembly.

⁴⁷ Simon Webb (2015:18) highlights that eyewitnesses from the local area were observing events from the balcony. However he does not specifically reference those who did nor the *Spectator Newspaper*.

When contemporary discussions are had about the kettle it is often in the context of a more general move in public order policing from dispersal to containment. As I highlight in this dissertation numerous high ranking police officers state this shift towards containment happened because of 'learning' from the J18. As I argue in Chapter 3, this 'learning' was transmitted in part through a police video of the J18 which examined the autonomous crowd movement that seemed to undermine police surveillance systems. Much of the 'learning' which came out of observing this protest was that the police needed to find ways of pre-emptively halting crowd movements before they could fully initiate their protest. While I agree with Neal et al (2019:1048) that this attempts to reterritorialise spaces which have been deterritorialised by activists, I link this specifically to policing and protest strategies within the City of London to show how this happens in situ. As I show in this thesis, through surveillant learning the City and Met Police developed new ways of enclosing activists while protesters found innovative means of circumventing this.

There is a growing trend to link the development of the kettle to the ex police officer and scholar Peter Waddington.⁴⁸ Neal et al write Waddington has been "heralded as the main architect behind the [containment] strategy" (2019:1054). However his work with the force took place over the early 1990s, and even from his own admission was not put into effect as the dominant public order strategy until after the J18 (Waddington 2009:n.p.). Waddington himself defended the kettle after the death of a bystander at the 2009 G20 Meltdown saying this containment technique was designed to keep protesters in place "until they calmed down and then allowed to disperse under controlled conditions." (Waddington 2009:n.p.) In Waddington's mind the kettle works by "using boredom rather than fear" (ibid). Yet as Neal et al question this assumption arguing both fear and boredom can be induced within the kettle (2019:1055). As they state the kettle: "fabricates an inner outside of the urban milieu, freezes the time of collective mobilization and induces debilitating affects such as fear and

⁴⁸ See his Telegraph obituary for more details on his life (Telegraph Obituaries 2018:27) He is not to be mistaken for David Waddington who will also be quoted in this thesis.

boredom.” (2019:1057) This is an enclosure which reterritorises space, attempting to empty or suppress radical energy.

We might see the kettle as a form of what André Lepecki termed choreopolicing. As Lepecki states this aims to “de-mobilize political action by means of implementing a certain kind of movement that prevents any formation and expression of the political” (2013:20). This choreopolicing tactic could then be seen to be in response to what Susan Leigh Foster calls the “choreographies of protest” (2003:395). Choreographies of protest collectivise the use of the protesting body against the state or an oppressive force in a shared “recalcitrant physicality” (2003:396); an embodied non compliance.

On the protests I examine, activists found new ways to choreograph their bodies en masse based on observations of public order policing. Parviainen sees this relationship as a “complex interplay” of “movement and countermovement” (2010:326) between protesters and police. This movement and countermovement then comes from a reading and counter reading which goes between protesting and authoritarian bodies. We might say it goes between the surveillance of protest and a counter surveillance of policing tactics, though with different relations to and of power. Much of this can be seen on the 1983-4 Stop the City protests.

Stop the City

Activists’ reflections on Stop the City have often been unflinching in their critical assessment. Esther Leslie writes in her book *Derelicts* “In two different decades I went to stop the city. We failed.” (2013:208) Similarly the Punk band Conflict (1984) wrote a spoken word track about the protest stating: “a carnival was enjoyed but the City was not stopped.” Here the City is not just a geographical place, as in the City of London, it stands in for the workings of global capital – the systemic functioning of financial exploitation that was not permanently halted. The connotative link between the City and capital do not just appear in reflection. As one of the flyers for the Stop the City protests states: “the ‘City’ is a place where the real decisions that affect our lives (and those of people just like us all over the

world) are made [...] Billions of pounds change hands every day making profit for a few whilst millions of people all over the world are starving.” If the City stands in for the world-wide logistical apparatus of capital distribution then permanently stopping this is a monumental task. Yet if we recognise the limitations of these protests might we be able to uncover the diffused learning that allowed the City to be temporally paused? A learning that temporarily allows a commons to open and halt the logistics of capital.

Can we see Stop the City (STC) as creating an initial format for the protests that I examine in this thesis?⁴⁹ The most thorough examination of the STC so far has been done by Rich Cross (2016), a participant on these protests, in his chapter *Stop the City showed another possibility*. Here Cross not only illuminates the tactics used by the Stop the City protesters but also highlights some of the strategies implemented by the police to stop them. However although he states these tactics developed in later protests, his ability to connect this to subsequent actions is limited by the format and scope of the chapter. Overall there is more to examine across the protests explored in this thesis in terms of their relationship to counter surveillance formations and policing – how commons were opened and enclosed. Looking closely at the STC can help give some context to the strategies protesters and police used in later actions.

If the aim of the four 1983-84 protests was to ‘stop the city’ how should we interpret the commons that was created to do this? The inspiration for this form of mass direct action is often seen as coming from the anarcho-punk movement which attempted to collectivise a self actuated struggle (Plant 1992:147). Cross (2016:122-123) states the organisation for the protest came from two sides; the anti-nuclear movement who were shifting focus onto sites of economic and political power and the radical anarcho-punks who generally decentralised and individualised an edgy creative struggle. Worley (2017:167) writes that in its origin STC relied on an underground network that “disseminated [its objectives] through radical publications and punk’s own DIY networks”. The punk band Crass

⁴⁹ The initial call to ‘stop the city’ might be interpreted in Deleuzan and Guattarian terms as creating an ‘assemblage of enunciation’ (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 83).

helped promote the protest creating a crucial nexus between the anarchist, anti-military, animal rights and feminist movements (Worley 2012:334). It was vital to the protest form that no one group 'organised' the protest, however participatory groups included Class War and London Greenpeace (Cross 2016:122-123). In its format the direct action attempted to disband with other mass tactics used by the left and CND which were felt to be prescriptive and staid (Cross 2016:119-120). We might see this commons as kept close to a particular milieu. It eschewed established forms of mobilization like the singular and centralized march along a set route. The idea was as Cross states to "swarm into the financial centre of the British capitalism and 'wreak havoc' with the smooth running of the economy of war and exploitation" (Cross 2016:123). At STC a swarming mass created creative autonomous actions as a logistic attack on the financial system causing £11 million in damages, hailing pre-digital trading structures (Cross 2016:118).

As a new format for protest⁵⁰ STC had a particular form of occupying space, initiating mass direct action in a way that initially seemed to take the City of London police off guard (Joyce and Wain 2014:9). The non-hierarchical and chaotic structure of the protest worked to disperse agency across all those attending in the hope of creating a mass of individual actions that would maximise disruption to the City's activities (Cross 2016:118). The first Stop the City (STC) protest took place on September 29 1983 with 1500 people taking part in blockades and mass creative disruptions (2016:118-120). Multiple activities which included what Rich Cross describes as: "Occupations, breakouts, 'die-ins', blockades and invasions of financial buildings" (2016:133). The mass crowd who blocked the streets, were said to break away in small and large groups to complete spontaneous and preplanned actions (Cross 2016:132). The City of London police were then faced with a leaderless array of fifteen hundred protesters who broke away and came back together in seemingly random

⁵⁰ Of course these tactics were adapted from other protest forms. The STCs claimed to take inspiration from, among others, international anti-nuclear blockades and sit-ins from the sixties and seventies as well as anti fascist street action from the thirties and seventies (Cross 2016:124). Yet in many ways as Cross writes the form they used had more in common with the 1960s King Mob carnivalesque disruptions, the Chicago 'Days of Rage' from October 8-11 1969 organised by the Weathermen and the 1970 street confrontations by autonomous groups throughout Europe (Cross 2016:124-5).

formation. While the police initially struggled to control this at first, their methods rapidly developed over the four protests (2016:120). STC highlights the origin of some of the key counter surveillance and surveillance tactics reflected and adapted on mass direct actions examined in this thesis.

A number of features within Stop the City can be seen on the protests I examine in this thesis. Most obviously there are commonalities in the use of language. In preparation for the first 1983 Stop the City protest London Greenpeace printed a leaflet entitled: "Occupy 'the City'? This autumn?" This of course resonates with the 'Occupy' 2011/12 protests which occurred globally and at St Paul's.⁵¹ Furthermore, crucial to the STC protest was its framing as a Carnival – similar to the June 18 1999 event. As one STC leaflet stated this event was a "Carnival Against War, Exploitation and Profit"⁵². Cross writes: "The aspiration to fuse a defiant 'carnival' with a militant 'protest' was frequently referenced, as was the aim to break with the norms of the 'ordinary' demonstration format." (Cross 2016:125) Here the protest became situated in a way that used radical play to enliven and achieve its aims.

It is not surprising that the Situationists International (SI) have been seen as a point of critical analysis for many in the anarcho-punk milieu (Webb 2016:182). As Sadie Plant highlights for Guy Debord and the SI the "construction of situations 'begins on the ruins of the modern spectacle'" (1992:32). These carnivals in the City then might be said to attack the spectacular image of capitalism and the functional workings of capital. In doing so crowds on both the STC and the J18 acted in ways which physically stopped the City from functioning and performatively illustrated its corrupt nature. People perform a functional task of blocking the streets while performatively dressed as fake business men with mock copies of the Financial Times that displayed anti-finance slogans (see Metzger 2011:n.p). On both protests – STC and J18 - police systems were in part undermined by non hierarchical, decentralised groups. The chaotic and

⁵¹ These also occurred at other locations in and just outside the City including the Bank of Ideas on Sun Street and the Occupy camp at Finsbury Square near Moorgate

⁵² Stop the City flyer printed in Cross (2016:121)

unpredictable nature of the crowd which could split off autonomously at any point found a surprisingly large hole in police defence systems.⁵³

The second Stop the City on March 29 1984, although larger than the first with 3000 people, saw police start to adapt to the tactics of the protesters (Cross 2013:11). As Cross states: “the police and authorities were learning more effective methods of containment, and were themselves becoming more fluid and flexible in their response.” (Cross 2016:145). As protester Richard Metzger (2011:n.p) describes a kettle formation was used to contain a section of the protest.⁵⁴ Containment methods would in part allow the police to out strategize the Stop the City protesters during the three final protests. (Cross 2016:149). Not only were people contained, but on the final Stop the City in 1984, there was a containment of all spaces where the police thought the protesters might congregate (Red, Green and Black 2016:n.p). The visual surveillance of those who looked ‘abnormal’ in the space went hand in hand with pre-emptive strategy that fenced off areas before people could solidify as a group. In fact as Cross states it is largely agreed that due to the police response the final Stop the City was never able to initiate itself (2016:146). This type of police learning which happens in-between events is also reflected in the change of police tactics in-between the main protests examined in this thesis.

While Stop the City saw a change in police tactics it also saw activists learning to adapt to police tactics. Protesters also learned ways to extend the length of their actions. On the second STC, protesters were able to spread police numbers thinly through the further dispersal of actions around the City.⁵⁵ This became a common tactic among days of action in the anti-globalisation movement and particularly at the J18 where large numbers of autonomous protests took place alongside the

⁵³ However as opposed to the 1999 J18 at the 1983 Stop the City large sections of the crowd were not mobilised towards a pre determined space.

⁵⁴ Richard Metzger, a protester on the second STC, details how the police containment tactic worked: “The street grid made it easy for them to herd perhaps as many as 25% of the protesters into this cordoned-off area which they surrounded with metal fences and a line of Old Bill standing shoulder to shoulder staring defiantly into the protester’s eyes as they moved them tighter and tighter together [...] After five or six hours [...] they were able to disperse much of the crowd outside of this area, they started to let people out a few at a time.” (Metzger 2011:n.p) After hours of containment the crowd are let out in small numbers sapped of energy.

⁵⁵ A2, “Stop the City 1984.” Quoted in Cross p142

main organised action. Equally this attempt to spread police numbers sparsely is also something we can see on the G20 Meltdown where four 'carnival parades' attempted to manoeuvre their way through the City thinning out the numbers of police to control any one of them. These examples highlight how the learning on protests crucially needs to be understood as occurring between both police and activists, although importantly with different relations to power.

While many of the protests forms I examine have correlations to previous direct actions, Worley asserts the anarcho-punk politics of STC had a fractious relationship to the anarchist movements who predated them (2017:168). Those such as Fox (1989) from the Anarchist Workers Group have argued that the STCs and similar mass events often take the place of the hard work of community organising and do little to branch out beyond a lifestyle anarchist ghetto. Cross (2016:150-1) highlights that this concern around branching out was one shared by those who were involved in planning the final STC, especially around issues such as the miners strike.

The causes of the miners and the STC might not have synched, however those such as the law scholar Driscoll (1987) saw the repression of both these types of movements being legislated in the same government Act. Scraton (1985) illustrates how the 1985 White Paper: Review of Public Order which led to the 1986 Act mentioned both the miners strike and the Stop the City protests. The review states it draws on 'lessons learnt' from specific events including the Stop the City campaign and the 1984-85 miners strike (Scraton 1985:387-8). Therefore while the police may have 'designed out' the STCs from the City, legislation was also put in place by a government who used a kind of surveillant learning to further criminalise this type of dissent. As Driscoll (1987:299) highlights the Public Order Act of 1986 had the biggest effect on those who wanted to take industrial action or those who wanted to assemble publically. While in their actions STC and the miners strike might have been separated in their repression by the state these two groups are brought together.

Nevertheless the Stop the City protests provided a model for conducting direct action which was as Cross (2016:151) puts it “imaginative, inspired, subversive and norm breaking.” However the STCs also suffered from what he termed a “lack of concern with strategy, and a fierce sense of outsider autonomy, which militated against the forging of common cause.” (Cross 2016:151) Doherty claims (2002:235) those involved in STC gained experience to develop larger scale protests through Environmental Direct Action of the 1990s. Yet equally as Plows (2002) writes in the Schnews Yearbook it was older activists involved in Stop the City who also helped develop the tactical and strategic understanding of the anti-roads movement. While conversely McKay (1998:52) asserts many anti-roads activists had no contact with older activists at all. Clearly the tactical ingenuity which in part grew through the anti-roads movement developed via a number of different strains. The growth of Reclaim the Streets and their alliance building strategies, as argued below, would often come through struggles with the police over areas of commons and enclosures. Furthermore the international coalitions built through the Zapatistas and the People’s Global Action (Notes from Nowhere 2003:184), as I will further outline, would also grow through a need to defend a commons or protect an area from further enclosure.

Anti-Roads Movement

A great deal of literature has been written about the UK anti-roads movement, who later channelled their energy into the alternative globalisation or global justice movement (See Booth 1996; Rowell 1996; McKay 1998; Wall 1999; Doherty et al 2000; Doherty 2002; Notes from Nowhere 2003; Moran 2009). For my purposes I want to outline what kind of tactics were used to create a commons capable of causing pausing the logistical of capital. Below I provide a brief outline of the anti-road movement’s development and their tactics. My main aim here is to examine the origins of human formations and strategic procedures which eventually helped to undermined the City of London Police surveillance systems in 1999 and inform further City protests.

The anti-roads direct action protests started as a last ditch attempt to stop the 1989 conservative government’s £26 billion road-building programme (Doherty

2002:166). As such they directly attacked logistical routes used for the valorisation and production of capital. Sociologist Alberto Toscano (2011:n.p) discusses the growing 'planetary logistics' of modern capitalism and the need to create 'frictionless flows' (2011:n.p). He sees the 'logistics of capital' being countered by the growing 'spatial politics of anti-capitalism' (2011:n.p). These planetary logistical systems, he argues, have 'choke points' (2014:n.p); the port, the distribution centre, the road, air traffic control, etc. He declares that worker antagonisms along these routes could represent a "shift in the loci of class struggle" (2014:n.p). Although he asserts the type of insurrectionary revolts which I examine may fetishise material action he also suggests that their 'spatio-temporal imaginary' are in opposition to the '*integration* of production, circulation and distribution in logistical systems' (2014:n.p).⁵⁶ In this way the anti-roads movement can be seen to have directly attacked the planetary logistics of capital at its choke points, whether it did so completely consciously or not.

The 1992 protests to stop the building of the M3 motorway in Twyford Down are seen by many as the beginning of the radical, direct action anti-roads movement (Harding 1998:81; Wall 1999:65; Doherty 2002:167). Derek Wall (1999:3) asserts that the direct action techniques which defined the anti-roads movement were to a large part driven by the group Earth First UK.⁵⁷ Harding (1998:80) asserts these activists worked to create a network of likeminded people rejected from more established and moderate campaigns who would help them revise strategies for a more radical purpose. The approach to ending the overall roads building programme was to delay the construction as long as possible causing profound financial damage to the programme. This meant turning up at motorway extension sites across the country, teaming up with local participants against the construction and physically placing oneself in the way of building works (Wall 1999:2). Much of this was out of step with the strategies used by

⁵⁶ For more writing on the logistics of capital circulation see Ashton (2006), Bernes (2013), Cowen (2014), and Chua et al (2018)

⁵⁷ Although bound together by their tactics many of the protesters who would join the anti-roads movement only had loose affiliations to any one group and Earth First UK often worked in coalition with others in a way that was both informal and non-hierarchical (Wall 1999:3,8,106). The 'extreme protests' in the City over my time period would almost all have this formation as a constant.

politically moderate environmental groups, such as Friends of the Earth, that existed in the UK prior to Earth First! (Doherty 1999:275).

Key to the direct action form was the creation of protest camps⁵⁸ where full time activists would dedicate months, and sometimes years, to derailing construction timetables through utilising the fragility of their own human body. Political sociologist Brian Doherty termed the approach of the anti-roads activists 'manufactured vulnerability' (2000:62). As Doherty (2000:65) explains: "Protests at road and other construction sites are a form of siege warfare. Protesters occupy a site and build defences in trees, houses or underground tunnels [...]. Successful protests have produced new techniques for resisting the besiegers." These 'new techniques for resistance' require the activist to physically put themselves in precarious positions to which extraction becomes extremely difficult.

At protest camps the activists used the physical vulnerability of their bodies as an asset of resistance. Extraction takes more time if you have to physically lower someone suspended from a tree, detach someone from a hanging net in a huge scaffolding tower, or cut someone's arms out of asphalt. Using human vulnerability as a force against the police and private security guards these tactics perform an act of political jiu jitsu (see Sharp 1973), in which an opponents' strength is used against them. In doing so these activists spatially determined these 'contested areas' (Feigenbaum, Frenzel, and McCurdy 2014:5-6). We might position these camps then as commons which literally push against capital due to their antagonist forms.

At the same time we can see the enclosure of these protest camps as a way for capital and the state to push back (Plows 2006:478). In *Green Backlash*, Andrew Rowell (1996:336) outlines how the Department of Transport (DoT) used surveillance tactics to isolate and neutralise the supposed leaders of the Twyford Down direct action protests. Brays Detective agency of Southampton were hired

⁵⁸ Protest camps of course have a long history that goes back to the Diggers in the UK (Feigenbaum, Frenzel, and McCurdy 2013:1), but as a contemporary tactical device this would develop its form with a close analysis of the modern environment and security.

by the DoT to create the foundation for a case that would ban specific protestors from the site and eventually seek £1.9 million from those who they accused of delaying the roads programme in a strategic lawsuit against public participation. (1996:338). While an economic attack was placed against activists they were also physically enclosed with the use of force.⁵⁹ From these experiences some saw the use of video as an protective and communicative form of counter surveillance.

Video activism as a counter surveillance tool at George Green

A number of surveillance scholars position video activism as a counter surveillance form (see Monahan 2006; Wilson and Serisier 2010; Ullrich and Wollinger 2011). In these instances video has been viewed as a tool to publically highlight the use of police violence (Monahan 2006:529), modify the behaviour of aggressive agents (Wilson and Serisier 2010:177), for legal prosecution of police who attack protest (Ullrich and Wollinger 2011:23). Yet in all these cases there is recognition of the power imbalances between protesters and police. Ullrich and Wollinger discuss the “general asymmetry of power” in regards to the fact that “police are in a systematically better position than protesters: better equipped, outfitted with public legitimacy, more trusted by courts, in possession of other preventive and repressive instruments.” (2011:24) These issues of trust and legitimacy mean that it is rare police are brought to trial or convicted for attacks on protesters (Ullrich and Wollinger 2011:23).

Equally as Wilson and Serisier state instead of modifying the behaviour of aggressive state agents video use “might stimulate ever more extreme counter-moves from those seeking to disarm counter-surveillance.” (2010:177) Here rather than halt attacks counter-surveillance forms can continue or even heighten aggression especially if an attacker can disable the information flow before it goes public. Monahan asserts (2006:529) – before the age of the ‘ubiquitous’ smart phone – police often seized recording equipment from protesters only using force when these were disabled. As Wilson and Serisier (2010:168) comment having

⁵⁹ One example of this was the eviction of Twyford Downs on 9 December 1992, where security guards were said to have used an intense campaign of violence to evict protestors from their camp. The attack that saw 22 of the guards resign due to their unease with this approach (1996:334).

video cassettes confiscated by the police can have the effect of involuntarily incriminating activists who might have been filmed in compromising positions. Therefore while video can be seen as a counter-surveillance tool there are a number of factors which negate its emancipatory potential.

The growth of video activism occurred in line with, and as part of, the tactical development of the protest groups who took part in the direct actions I examine in this thesis. As such the use of the video has played a significant role in all the mass direct action protests in the City that took place after the 1983-84 STC. Initially this was done to show up police violence or raise the visibility of a campaign. Ironically a major catalyst in the rise of video activism took place in 1993 the same year as the Ring of Steel CCTV cameras were being erected around the periphery of the City of London.⁶⁰ At that time on George Green – a park in Wanstead owned by the City of London⁶¹ – a group of activists halting the M11 road works⁶² started to see video as crucial to fulfilling their own aims. During some of the most violent scenes anti-roads activists had encountered so far (Butler 1996:355),⁶³ these protesters felt video could and should be used to highlight police and security misconduct.

⁶⁰ See chapter 8 for more details on the Ring of Steel

⁶¹ George Green is an area of green land owned by the City of London Corporation. A seemingly self-contained, medium sized local park, it is lined with a number of ash and chestnut trees. It sits between a row of houses adjacent to Wanstead underground station. Officially it makes up part of the sprawling Epping Forest, an area that covers approximately 6000 acres (Addison 1991:1). Due to an 1878 Act of Parliament the City of London Corporation has a duty of care towards its preservation and management as it does for the whole of Epping Forest (Grant 1991:213).

⁶² The potential felling of a 250 year of sweet chestnut tree on George Green provided a common ground for anti-roads activists and residents to work together to battle the road works (Rowell 1996:342). Protesters occupied the tree, built a tree house and letterbox and were able to classify it as a legal dwelling due to mail being posted there (Moran 2009:215). This halted the ability to fell the tree until a court order could be obtained.

⁶³ After going through the courts on 7 December 1993 the Department of Transport prepared to demolish the 250 year of sweet chestnut protesters were protecting from the road works. Police battled for 9 hours at the cost of £100,000 to evict the protestors and clear residents (Wall 1999:76). As Rowell (1996:341) documents, police from the Territorial Support Group were brought in for the eviction and used some of the most violent measures against anti roads protestors so far. 49 complaints of brutality were registers over the one day eviction including a 12 year old girl being hit in the face (1996:342). Cultural Archaeologist, Beverley Butler (1996) interviewed a number of residents about their experience. Some give blow by blow accounts of what they saw: "Quite elderly residents were being punched and kicked in the face." Others discuss how it changed their relationship with authority: "I saw the police in a very different light; [it was] brought home to me that these were not police - they were political armies really." Others discuss how it strengthened their resolve to continue opposition to the M11 link road "The only comparison I can make is watching news reels of Nazis smashing down Jewish areas [...] and from

BZ, was one of the first video activists to participate in the No M11 campaign at George Green. As he explained to me: “[Some of the protesters] had cameras but there were no video cameras. And I was thinking, well we need a video camera here it's the only way [people] are going to believe us about what was going on.”⁶⁴ Beyond the local community, it was difficult for the protesters’ side story to gain ground. BZ felt he needed recordings that could easily fit into the news cycle, or even create an alternative news cycle from an activist viewpoint. Here his relationship to video very much fits Monahan’s (2006:529) account of video as a tool to raise visibility. For BZ the video camera was a means to further enable the activist cause. As he described to me:

I was using video as a tool to create some sort of change. I was actually getting that footage and working with it and saying what can I achieve from this? Can I get more people involved in the campaign? Can I use this footage to actually bring about some sort of change? Or can I raise awareness through media? [...] You want to use it straight away and get it out there and make that difference immediately.⁶⁵

In terms of immediacy video could also be used to halt confrontations as Wilson and Serisier describe (2010:177). In his article *Viva camacordistas! Video activism and the protest movement* fellow video activist Harding also at the No M11 protest (1998:84) recounts that during initial actions, activists worked out a strategy of shouting ‘camera’ whenever protesters were assaulted in order to call the roving videographer to collect evidence against the attacker. The knowledge that the event was being recorded sometimes would halt the attack. Though as BZ described to me himself, the first time he recorded such an event the guard just smashed his camera to pieces. Here BZ outlines a similar reaction to the one presented by Wilson and Serisier (2010:177).

that moment on Moira and I thought - if this is what we have got, we are in 101 percent.” (1996:355). Clearly for many of the local residents these actions disrupted a normative understanding of the police as keepers of the peace.

⁶⁴ Interview with the author

⁶⁵ Interview with the author

As BZ saw many of the established news outlets as framing the role of the police as a trusted state service and either ignoring the workings of the activists or positioning them as detrimental to the rights of the individual in 'normal' life. As criminologist Phil Scraton (1985) argues this was a narrative that had its history in the Thatcherite framing of law and order. Numerous scholars in communications over this period argued established news outlets restricted discourse through framing devices (Entman 1993; Gamson and Wolfsfield 1993; Iyengar 1994). As news frames are often seen to attribute responsibility, causal agents and moral evaluations what they omit can be as important as what they include (Entman 1993:52-54).

In relation to social movements both omissions and negative portrayals by news frames can be seen to affect wider involvement (Entman and Rojecki 1993:155). Therefore the ability to deliver content directly could be considered to provide the possibility of challenging these frames, raising the visibility of the struggle and in so doing condemning the use of force by the police. To do this video activists from the No M11 campaign attempted to create an alternative media organisation to undercut traditional news framing and galvanise support for action. Without the infrastructure or resources of the state, corporate or media sector activists created their own alternative video news service called Undercurrents.⁶⁶

Undercurrents

Video activist organisation and specifically Undercurrents have been examined by a large number of academics. Steve Presence (2015) provides an excellent examination of Undercurrents and other video activist organisation in his article *The contemporary landscape of video-activism in Britain*. Equally Undercurrents has been explored in terms of User Generated Content and the origins of internet video (Heritage 2008; Hondros 2018), and as an alternative news platform to decentralise media power (Holloway 1998; Couldry 2002; Waltz 2005; Coyer, Dowmunt, and Fountain 2007). Harding (1997, 1998) one of

⁶⁶ Undercurrents was first known as Small World Media, however for consistency I am referring to the collective as Undercurrents throughout.

the founders of Undercurrents and BZ have both written about their experience of working as part of this collective. My main interest is in examining Undercurrents as part of a movement in counter surveillance. Palmer (2006) discusses Undercurrents as the opposite of CCTV. Similarly Crang (1996) discusses Undercurrents in terms of a type of counter surveillance that oppose oppressive power structures. Below I will give a brief overview of how Undercurrents attempted to support their work and the relation they had to traditional news outlets.

BZ was one of the founders of Undercurrents, a non-profit organisation which distributed footage of activist campaigns through both established and alternate means. It provided video for both established news services, such as BBC, ITV and later Sky, as well as the creation of their own distribution network. As part of a means of contesting established frames at first video activists gave footage to broadcast TV news outlets without charge. Later, realising that video showing daring protesters battling with the police and security guards in sites across the UK made good TV news copy, BZ found that stations were willing to pay for this footage. Although as BZ stated to me that money went back into keeping the video activists' collective going.

BZ saw this inline with a struggle for, what Benford and Snow call, "counterframing" (2000:625). As such Undercurrents attempted to use media tools to raise the profile of socially progressive protest movements and show the violence imposed by the police and security guards to a wider audience. Those behind Undercurrents felt that the footage they shot could undercut this established narrative, positioning the police and the security services in the role of the aggressor. However, as Harding (1998:85) a fellow co-founder of Undercurrents outlines, distributing footage through the established media meant there was a lack of editorial control, therefore important issues effecting the movement could be cut out when stations just bought the visuals for their broadcasts. Entman (1993:55) argues framing can be used in the editing of footage to limit discourse, restricting discussion to a small areas often agreed upon by factions within an elite. The frame that is used to present an issue

mobilizes specific problem definitions, causal agents, and moral evaluations which place information, ideas and images together.

This lack of editorial control was felt to disempower video activists who did not have a say in the editing of their footage. As BZ said to me: “how can we control how they use that footage? There was a lot of wariness about. We had no idea how they were going to portray it.”⁶⁷ This was coupled with further fears by certain direct action activists that too much engagement with the established mass media would eventually soften the message of the protesters; appealing rather than confronting hegemonic values (Aufheben 1998:116).

Influenced by the 90s DiY culture, the main focus of Undercurrents was independent distribution and program making for this “alternative news service”. As BZ described to me, this was a way of providing information on the variety of activist campaigns that were taking place across the country. Due to the technology and legislation at the time, in 1993, a broadcasting news service was an option that would need vastly expensive equipment and approval by government.

However, broadcasting was not the only means of distributing moving image. Undercurrents decided to create a video magazine on VHS sold via subscription.⁶⁸ They sourced footage from video activists around the country and made original programmes for the initial tape completed in April 1994. At their height BZ tells me they were selling approximately 1000 copies of each tape, with discounts for the unemployed or unwaged. Pirate copies of these tapes appeared world-wide and attention was paid to this new route for alternative news by more liberal media outlets such as the Guardian and Channel 4.

Yet it was clear that establishing a conventional media presence or even using video was not the main aim of the majority of protestors. As Doherty states: “the

⁶⁷ interview with the author

⁶⁸ BZ had noticed a newspaper article stating Tony Benn was able to sell 100,000 VHS cassette copies of his best speeches. As PO stated he and his colleagues figured that this appetite for politics via the medium of VHS cassette could be harnessed to carry their own news service.

British EDA [Environmental Direct Action] networks, [...] do not orient their activity to gain media coverage.” (2002:168) The central tactic used by anti-roads activists was becoming well-defined; to create endless battle lines in an attempt to stall construction works for as long as humanly possible. The conflict between protestor and police, activist and security guard was primarily being fought in physical, rather than a mediatised, space. This involved direct action techniques which materially utilised one’s body as an instrument of political change in order to damage the plans of those in power. Even if they could not stop individual sites being destroyed, the activists understood that the longer they squatted on location the more money this would cost the Department of Transport and the state (Doherty 2002:169).

The role of video activists in this was not always visibly defined especially as the anti roads protests were also building a movement that went beyond purely environmental concerns. The alternative magazine collective *Aufheben*, who published across the era of these protests, claim one of the most politically significant aspects of the No M11 campaign was, as they put it, the “creation of a climate of autonomy, disobedience and resistance.” (1998:107) For, according to *Aufheben*, what made these activists so difficult for authorities to deal with was that they not only rejected the government’s authority to determine the roads building programme, but they also poured scorn on the established way of living in a capitalist society. From squatting houses and space, to reclaiming a new type of communal identity that revolved around shared resources, the day to day life of these activists pointed to a different mode of existence that was diametrically opposed to Thatcherism, which continued under Major’s government. (1998:110)

The conflict video activists had between supporting a movement that was to a large degree anti-capitalist, while at the same time needing capital to fund running costs was extremely difficult to resolve. The direct action activists were essentially working for free while engaging in political protests. As Harding (1998:92) states those filming protesters were often accused of making economic gain out of activists either by selling footage to TV stations or by packaging it themselves. BZ agrees there were sometimes problems inherent in selling

Undercurrent tapes back to activists even as a non-profit entity. As BZ stated to me: “because money was involved, people just thought we were making money off the direct action movement. And it’s amazing how moral sapping that can be when you get that. You’re just thinking, well, do you want to come back and see how much work’s involved in this and what we spend the money on?”⁶⁹

This video commons then had issues with how it was perceived to be aligning itself with an economic exploitation of activists.⁷⁰ But this lack of greater financial backing often required video activists who contributed to Undercurrents to have their work used without payment. As DW, another video activist at the time, said to me: “Everything was submitted to [Undercurrents] in a certain spirit [...] because it was about giving a voice.”⁷¹ DW was often keen to submit his footage to Undercurrents in order to get his projects on the biannual VHS cassette, because he saw his activism in countering the established media and TV news framing. As DW says he aimed to counter the: “bias towards the police or the establishment side.”⁷² He wanted to document a different side of events in order to redress a balance that was shifted in a way that he felt often misrepresented protesters.⁷³

Although there were contentious moments, most of the groups involved with the anti-roads movement continued to work with video activists especially Undercurrents as it was seen as one of the most established and well known collective. Though as Presence (2015:203) recounts this sometimes meant they received the label of the ‘the McDonalds of activist video’ with Conscious Cinema

⁶⁹ Interview with author

⁷⁰ Of course without gaining some financial costs for production and distribution, the material elements could not be paid for. Costs which covered the video making and postproduction included the purchase of video and sound equipment, cassette tapes, editing suite and a physical location for the edit. Even though cameras were more affordable and mobile then they had been previously a basic high 8 video camera at that point would have been approximately £1500 (over £2000 in today’s money). Additionally, the administration involved in the distribution of the video magazine, the sourcing of footage from other video activists and the overall running of the magazine took a great deal of time. Continuing this was an on-going battle to stay financially afloat, find external forms of funding, and maintain a presence at the diverse political events across the country.

⁷¹ Interview with the author

⁷² interview with the author

⁷³ However some saw this bringing additional question as to how any economic gains were distributed among those who produced content.

and SchMOVIES being considered more non-hierarchical, further separated from mainstream news and not to be profiting from footage sales. Yet as Harding argues (1998:89) the wider distribution of Undercurrent's political video often encouraged people to become involved in campaigns and demystified what was involved in direct action events. In this way Harding believed it supported the activities of activists. He states: "Video cameras became seen as an integral part of almost every campaign around the country." (1998:91) Harding detailed this was evidenced by the continued close involvement of video activists with anti-roads campaigns.

Inadvertent surveillance

Yet the conflicting relationship between activists and video activists was not only about economic gain and representation. As Wilson and Serisier (2010:168) state just as footage from video activists can highlight police brutality, it can also be used to incriminate protesters. While many of my interviews support this depiction, information from my interviewees also suggests reading this too narrowly might limit our understanding of the constant interplay between surveillance and counter surveillance. While footage can inadvertently provide surveillance for the police, video activists also put in place contingency measures to avoid this. From all my interviewees inadvertent surveillance did seem to be a problem. As Video activist DW described to me:

people had their tapes [taken] and [were told by the police] we're going to arrest you for this that and the other. Or we're going to take your camera. There was always big debates over the legality of that. [The video activist would say] Oh but I don't think that's legal. [But they were told] Oh you'll get it back don't worry. And in the mean time they don't or it's erased [when they do].⁷⁴

This did not just deprive the video activists of footage to work with. Often this created a serious backlash from political activists. BZ detailed to me:

we screwed up on one case with Reclaim The Street which really brought it home to us. They phoned up and said we're going to be doing an action

⁷⁴ Interview with the author

today and we sent [a new video activist] and said right go film it. But [in the action] they end up covering an Alfa Romeo in paint. And she just wasn't thinking. So she stayed and filmed. And she filmed the whole thing. And then she stayed to get reactions. Which [was] naïve on her behalf, but also naïve on their behalf to sort of say well if you're going to do criminal damage why are you getting somebody to film it. The police got the footage, which was a total screw up. And we got a lot of flack for that.⁷⁵

The fact that the videographer had filmed the activists' faces and that the video had ended up in the hands of the police, fuelled animosity towards video activists. Events not dissimilar to this one started to occur with inexperienced video activists, as the prevalence of video cameras on actions continued, driving a further wedge between activist and video activists (Harding 1998:93). This did not help a situation where even in the early days of video sections of the activist were sceptical of cameras. As the direct action magazine *Do or Die* highlighted this aggressive feeling towards cameras in their 1993 April / May edition stating: "Few cameras are nice cameras [...] The police confiscate films which "pertain to an offence" – don't incriminate yourself or others. Try burning out the cone of a video camera: point a flash-gun directly into the lens" (1993:23) Here one might be led to think video activist is a contradiction in terms.

Video activists constructed tactics to keep video out of the hands of police. Counter measures were put in place to make sure video activists did not provide an ad hoc self surveillance system for police. As BZ details: "one thing we always instilled in people was to have a blank tape that you can switch."⁷⁶ As it was unclear from the outside whether a cassette tape had been used or not, this tactic provided a simple way to avoid having footage confiscated. As JL, another video activist, stated to me he would always make sure to put a blank cassette tape next to the camera in his bag so that he could give the dud to the police instead of the one he was filming on. Equally further tactics were also developed so that fully used tapes would not be seized. DW stated he developed a technique to get rid of his full shot tapes as soon as he could. He would carry around an envelope with his address on it in order to send these tapes back to himself thereby getting them

⁷⁵ Interview with the author

⁷⁶ interview with the author

off his person before the police could obtain them. However the fear that footage was falling into the wrong hands continued as more and more cameras began to appear on protests sites. Training became a major focus of Undercurrents in order to mitigate such problems and continue the use of video as an activist's tool.

But equally as BZ states: "I think everybody has to take responsibility."⁷⁷ He suggests that the onus should not just be on the video activist but also on the activists themselves. His advice to activist was to "mask up"⁷⁸ covering their faces when they took part in actions which might walk the line between legality and illegality. This was as much to protect them from video activists as from police surveillance cameras. As he states: "A lot of people have actually got into that now. Masking up. But in the early 90s and the late 90s even, I saw people doing stuff in front of CCTVs and everything else with no masks... I just thought why would you do that? Why? I just don't get it."⁷⁹ However while BZ suggests the masking the face as a counter surveillant tactic for protests, this increasingly became more problematic as the law changes in regards to concealing ones identity. The Crime and Disorder Act (1998) updated Section 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994). Crucially in it gave police "Powers to require removal of masks, etc" (Crime and Disorder Act 1998) which came into effect on 1 March 1999. This gave police constables the power to "require any person to remove any item which the constable reasonably believes that person is wearing wholly or mainly for the purpose of concealing his identity" (Crime and Disorder Act 1998). This mask can then be seized and confiscated by the constable. Failure to comply with the request is liable for arrest imprisonment for up to one month and / or a fine of £1000.

Synching movements, art and activism

The Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 was seen to specifically target anti roads activists (Plows 1998:165) along with animal rights activist, travellers (McKay 1998:22), squatters (1998:34) and those involved in rave culture (1998:37). While aspects of the act individually effected all those groups in terms

⁷⁷ interview with the author

⁷⁸ interview with the author

⁷⁹ interview with the author

of the anti roads activists specific sections of the act targeted the tactics they used to protest the roads programme. Here as Anderson states the Criminal Justice Act “served to effectively criminalise the taking and making of political space” (2004:119). Just as the protest camps had created a commons which pushed at the logistics of capital, this legislation now pushed back by attempting to further criminalise this behaviour. Section 70 and 71 of the Criminal Justice Act (CJA) specifically made “trespassory assemblies” an offence, with the entire of section 5, Collective Trespass or Nuisance on Land, providing greater powers to design out protest camps (Finchett-Maddock 2014:16).

Yet McKay observed that due to the criminalisation of so many groups “the CJA galvanised rather than dispersed activists” (McKay 1998:27). In this way it forced alliances between groups opposing the CJA (1998:40) creating a union of politicised ravers, squatters, anti road activists and hunt saboteurs. As part of the No M11 campaign this amalgamation of the dispossessed began to grow further. George Green had become an initial focus point for many of the protesters coming to London in order to oppose the M11 link road with local residence (Wall 1999:75). These activist connected with local residents angered at their houses being compulsory bought to make way for the link road (Moran 2009:214).

Once evicted from George Green anti-roads activists managed to squat houses in the local area. Squatting moved to other areas of Wanstead and Hackney due for destruction in order to make way for the link road. These connected activists with the newly displaced artist community who were also being asked to leave properties in the area. Previously, during the 1980s houses had been cheaply rented to artists to use as studios while waiting for demolition. By the time the direct action anti-road protests started many of these houses became squatted and prime locations for continued acts of resistance. The artists who were to lose their studios joined with activists and older residents who opposed the road works.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ An anti M11 Link Road Poster – “You Can Shove It!” playfully encourages this collective approach. The hand drawn poster which shows a line of people seemingly of different ages,⁸⁰ from very young to elderly, literally pushing at the letters and numbers M11. In this case the You Can Shove It text underneath them could be interpreted to have two meanings. One, that by working

In particular Claremont Road, a terraced road planned to be demolished to make way for the M11 link, was an important squatted space in which techniques from art and activism each informing the other. Here the creative techniques of resistance used by the anti roads protesters became further informed by art and performance, and the history of political and conceptual art movements (Jordan 1998:129-139). Those displaced artists gathering around Claremont Road used it to develop their own form of art activism. Participant artist and activist John Jordan wrote that Claremont Road became a “phenomenally imaginative theatre of resistance” (1998:135). Jordan argues this was about: “applying art and creativity to real political situations”(1998:285n5). For him this was the “art of the necessary” (1995:9) where creativity was mobilised in the practice of resistance and resistance was mobilised for creativity. Sculptures made of reclaimed metal and automobile parts were used as barricades to stop the traffic. Beside a banner stating ‘idea homes’ household objects were tied to the trees in order to block felling via chainsaw (1998:136). A scaffolding tower based on the French book *The House that Beebo Built*, rose 100 feet up out of the roof of one of the properties (1998:285n22). This acted both as an iconic piece of art and as a place to precariously drape oneself from in order to stop demolition (1998:136). It was in this way that Jordan (1995:9) claims art was activism and activism was art.

Claremont Road E11: A Festival of Resistance a ‘visual’ newspaper printed shortly after the eviction of Claremont Road in 1995, further attests to this mixing of physical resistance and creativity in practice. Published on page 22 of the document is a flyer for the weekly Sunday Street Party that took place on site. As it states: “Claremont road is a not-to-be-missed ongoing work of living art [...] Join in – people are always welcome to help with decorating building or barricading.” (1995:22) Here a commons was being opened that attempted to utilise creativity

together people can move the link road outside of the boundaries of their community. Two, that the people who want to build the link road can ‘shove’ their idea. Using humour, playfulness and creativity in their approach to the direct action was a common element of this campaign as it developed.

and direct action methods drawing on skills from newly criminalised communities. As Phil McLeish wrote in the newspaper activists themselves developed the slogan “homes not roads” into “commons not roads” (1995:2). This seemed to be an opportunity to create an autonomous space where ideas could cross pollinate between ravers, activists, squatters and travellers. It also further engaged the local community. 93 year old Dolly who was born on Claremont Road and lived there her whole life, became a crucial supporter of the Claremont commons as she too became criminalised in the protection of her home (Mendel 1995:25).

In this particular instance the honed direct action tactics of the anti roads protesters, mixed with the creative ingenuity of artists and the spirited defiance of the elderly east end community. These social actors developed a liminal space which could confront the road builders, security and police whilst attempting to innovatively empowering those living within it. This mixing of art with a striving for a utopian space that rejects the power of state rules. Numerous people have seen overlaps here with theories from Hakim Bey (Jordan 1998:135-139; St John 2008:175; Grindon 2004:147-8). One can see clear similarities. Like many of these protesters, Bey’s idea of insurrection was connected to art in prefigurative spaces (2003:39). Bey questioned the ability to be free and autonomous in the present societal construction, yet he seemed unconvinced of the ability to create revolution (2003:96-99). Resistance for Bey comes in the form of what he terms Temporary Autonomous Zones (TAZ). This “free enclave” (2003:97) rejects the rules of wider society, creating the change from within an autonomous zone, even if this is only for a small amount of time. Bey stresses the festive aspects of TAZ which dissolve authoritative structures through the implementation of these zones. These are horizontally arranged “liberated” spaces which sow “the seed of the new society taking shape within the shell of the old” (2003:101). While this is a seductive idea further analysis of Bey’s TAZ might push the conception of a modern commons to its limit. As he says:

TAZ is like an uprising which does not engage directly with the State, a guerilla operation which liberates an area (of land, of time, of imagination) and then dissolves itself to re-form elsewhere/elsewhen, *before* the State

can crush it. Because the State is concerned primarily with Simulation rather than substance, the TAZ can 'occupy' these areas clandestinely and carry on its festal purposes for quite a while in relative peace. (2003:99)

Bey might emphasise the 'relative peace' able to be developed in the TAZ, yet it is clear from the accounts of Claremont road that this was not the experience of those activists inhabiting that space. In fact they used their commons to 'liberate' areas which were far from clandestine. Bey puts value on the ability to liberate and dissolve autonomously but we might ask what kinds of material conditions and bodily attributes would one need to do this clandestinely. Grindon argues, without potential to be revolutionary, this is carnival as a "safety value" (2004:159). What Bookchin's derides as lifestyle anarchism that negates the social in pursuit of individual autonomy (Grindon 2004:157). According to Grindon while the liminal space of the autonomous carnival might provide radical spaces of change (2004:156, 160) Bey is just Autonomous Marxism or Situationist theory stripped of their Marxist roots (Grindon 2004:157). However the use of Bey by Jordan is often heavily combined with references to Vaneigem (1967), Bakhtin (1968) and Schechner (1993). In doing this he develops notions of the carnival that link a creative and disobedient liminal space of transgression to further materialist concerns.

According to Jordan it was after the invigorating mix of art and politics at the commons of Claremont road that he and others would re-form Reclaim the Streets (1998:139) – a 1991 campaign to create rebel street parties. (1998:285-6n25) From 1995 onwards mass street parties would be created in urban spaces without permission as a way of reclaiming space; both physically and conceptually. Routledge saw the RTS protests as occurring on sites of circulation – similar to the discussion of the logistics of capital above – these disrupt routes which are used for the free flow of commodities and resources (2017:20). In Situationist form, the first street party started with two cars crashing into one another, the drivers coming out in mock road rage, attacking each others cars and being joined by 500 dancing people to take over the road now blocked by the crash (Jordan 2016:350). As such this both allowed a radical halting of the logistics of capital while at the same time developing a pre-figurative form. As

Rebecca Solnit states: “if what RTS activists opposed was privatization, alienation, and isolation, a street party was not just a protest of these conditions but a temporary triumph over them.” (Solnit 2005:23 quoted in Holloway 2010:45)

The mixing of protest with a festive street party or carnival created a liminal space of radical play.⁸¹ Demos saw RTS as mixing ‘disobedient energies’ with ‘inventive aesthetics’ (2016:87). The best example of this for Demos was when the RTS M41 protest closed the motorway and camouflaged the drilling of tarmac and planting of saplings under a number of large carnivalesque hoop dresses used by stilts walkers (2016:89-90). Eight thousand people attended that street party in 1996 (Duncombe 2002:219) showing the movements skilful ability to gain numbers. Furthermore in their support for Liverpool dockers on their Reclaim the Future 1996 action, RTS showed the potential for these tactics across all lines of struggle (Jordan 2016:350), but especially at sites of circulation and logistics. For Jordan:

The street party would become a revolutionary carnival [...] We were introducing play into politics, challenging official culture’s claim to authority, stability, sobriety, immutability and immortality by cheekily taking over a main traffic artery. The road became a stage for a participatory ritual theatre. (1998:141)

As these street parties grew in size this tactic would link to and be developed by anarchist and global justice movements across the world. A growing inspiration for those within Reclaim The Streets was the rebellion of the Zapatistas in the Chiapas region of Mexico (Notes from Nowhere 2003:17). On new years day 1994 the Mayan peasants of the region, increasingly dispossessed from their land, instituted a masked revolt against the Mexican governments implementation of IMF austerity and the acceptance of North American Free Trade Agreement, which drained their natural resources (Maurer 1998:580). With their cry of Ya

⁸¹ Of course these ideas are not necessarily new. Graham St John highlights how in Roman and Greek tradition ‘festivals’ become, as he states, a “time of inversion, intensification, transgression and abstinence.” (2009:117) More recently this use of the carnival-esque was prominent in the interventions of the 1960s by groups such as the Situationists, the Yippies and the off-shoot of the San Francisco Mime Troupe, the Diggers (2009:168). Equally as St John goes on to point out, Neil Nehring argues that these notions of the transgressive carnival were already deeply embedded in the British Post-War subculture of 1970s punk. (2009:173)

Basta! (Enough) the Zapatista Army of National Liberation occupied towns taking back land to actualize a commons while simultaneously using the internet to internationally publicize their struggle (Do or Die 1999:3). Howard Caygill calls this a “hybrid capacity to resist” (2013:112) where there is an alignment of “the potential offered by the global technologies of the internet and media with the local tradition of indigenous resistance.” (2013:123) This reflects the Midnight Notes Collective assertion that an anti enclosure movement should “both think and act globally and locally” (1990:9). Here the possibility of a commons was being developed which could align activists involved in anti capitalist actions from across the globe.

Reaching out to other resistance movements around the world the masked figure of Subcomandante Marcos sent out a series of communiqués (Caygill 2013:124) Crucially, in 1996 Marcos sent a communiqué inviting activists from around the world to an International *Encuentro* (encounter) Against Neoliberalism (Notes from Nowhere 2003:24). Central to this encounter was the dissemination of tactical strategies of rebellion among the 3000 activists who came from over 40 countries (Notes from Nowhere 2003:34). Another International Encuentro was set for 1997 in Spain where UK anti-road protesters mixed with the Zapatista among those from the Brazilian landless peasants movement and Indian Farmers from the Karnataka Farmers Union (2003:74). With these groups and others Reclaim the Streets put out a call to form a network of activists from across the globe (Graeber 2009:xiv).

In February 1998 this became what was known as ‘Peoples’ Global Action,’ a network connecting direct action activists across the world in an autonomous and decentralized manor with “no head office, no central funds, no membership, and no representatives” (Notes from Nowhere 2003:96). This coalition of movements would develop the ability to organize concurrent protest actions in multiple countries against the meeting of global economic planning organization such as the IMF, WTO and the G8. In doing so, they would develop a type of commons that occupied areas designated for the smooth functioning of capital and attempt to halt its flow. Greatly influenced by the Zapatistas insurrectory struggle against the

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the “carnivalised politics” (St John 2009:167) of the 60s, the iteration of the worldwide movement that appeared in London also used aspects of the street party, which had grown out of the anti-roads protests (Routledge 2017:129).

Conclusion

In this chapter I gave a context for modern protests in the City of London and the learning which developed in the long lead up to the J18. In the next three parts of this dissertation I will examine how the protests that emerged from this history interacted with surveillance and policing in the City of London. While the four protests had a variety of different inspirations, there are consistencies and diffuse learning which come back to the history outlined in this chapter.

Part 2... and it starts again⁸²

In the 1960s my mother was under surveillance. She had her name published as one of the 100 most wanted Students for a Democratic Society members. In November 1968 she was arrested when police observed her saying 'shit' in the park as part of an agitprop performance. Her and my uncle were in a performance troop in San Francisco called "the People's Revolutionary Army, Marching Kazoo Band, Frisbee Team and Guerrilla Theatre." As part of the performance they sang a line: "In the same country dwelt Lulu Red Vanguard who had a keen sense for discerning exploitation, oppression, or in other words just plain *shit*." She received 30 days in jail.⁸³

⁸² The carnivalesque politics of the 1960s informed the J18 and the alter-globalisation protest movement. It was also deeply tied to the political awakening my parents had as they grew into adulthood. The comic performativity of the New Left was used as a political tool to break down state oppression and show up its contradictions. While these activists experimented with new methods to open an alternative space of dialogue and action they eventually fell foul of the surveillance processes used by capital and the state. The state again targeted activists by identify and framing them using media technology and physically enclosing on them with force. This reterritoring of a carnivalesque commons is played out in the capitalist state's response to the J18. The cyclical opening and closing of a temporary commons is part and parcel of the interplay between police and activists within my study.

⁸³ She got this sentence for 'breaking her probation'. She had been arrested in May 1968 when conducting a sit in on her college campus

Chapter 3 - The starburst and the kettle

In this chapter I examine how the City and Met police attempted to reterritorialise the carnivalesque commons created at the 1999 J18 protest, enclosing upon activists through the use of surveillance tactics. I start with an explanation of the J18 protest and its development of the counter surveillance form known as 'the starburst'. Although networked video surveillance systems failed to shut down this tactic on the day, I outline how the City of London Police utilised images after the protest. I highlight how the CoLP developed an extended surveillance structure that hoped to identify activists by publishing their images in the press, while at the same time depoliticising the protest as an 'orgy of destruction'. I then show how the City of London police (and later the Met) used video footage and framing devices internally to institutionally historicise the J18. I argue this filmic text was used to help facilitate a suppression of direct action through the way in police encoded and encouraged specific decodings of video footage. To do this I examine a police made film compiled of J18 surveillance footage (the J18 police film) and how it aided police 'learning'. Finally I show how this 'learning' from the J18 facilitated the move towards the kettle as a primary public order tactic, and was leveraged to develop cross policing procedures and further fund undercover operations.

On June 18 1999 the global day of action known as either the Carnival Against Capital or the J18, took place in more than 40 countries across the world (Notes from Nowhere 2003:184-5). Crucial to the organisation of this action were groups such as Reclaim the Streets (RTS) and Peoples Global Action (PGA) who had built international networks across continents in order to highlight and strike back against global capital (Do or Die 1999:6). Organisers attempted to connect dissenting forces from the global north and south in a simultaneous attack on globalisation. In doing, so they hoped this resistance could travail across the lines capital connected; summed up in their slogan: "Our Resistance will be as transnational as capital" (Routledge 2000:25). The timing of the event was set to oppose the G8 summit in Koln, Germany (Joyce and Wain 2014:10). A number of financial centres were targeted, in an attempt to draw visibility to them as crucial

nodes of exploitation (Notes from Nowhere 2003:185). In the City of London, police estimated up to 10,000 protesters overwhelmed their surveillance command and control mechanisms (Nove 1999a:2-7; Speed 1999:5). The City came to a standstill while bike blockages, mini protests and four major carnival parades took over the streets (SchNEWS 1999:1). Carnival protestors navigated to the unguarded financial futures exchange LIFFE building, invaded the reception (Tyler 2003:194) and caused millions of pounds in damages throughout the Square Mile (Goodchild 1999:2).

Do or Die (1999:6) states, it was after a conversation with previous Stop the City activists from London Greenpeace, who had also been thinking about organising a protest in the City, that they started to develop a tactical approach to initiating mass direct action in the Square Mile. Previously the City's surveillance mechanism seemed to have deterred a similar action to the J18. In May 1998 the PGA had arranged a global day of action with activists from around the world (Notes from Nowhere 2003:96). According to Do or Die (1999:6) the May 1998 action which took place in Birmingham as part of this global street party was originally intended for Square Mile. Part of the reason this was moved to Birmingham, the anonymous Do or Die writer and organiser of the J18 claims, was to avoid the infamous Ring of Steel CCTV cameras which surround the City.⁸⁴

At the time the Square Mile was in Jon Coaffee words the "most guarded space in the U.K. and perhaps the world." (2003b:78). Technologically it had an integrated visual surveillance system with which was made up of "a combination of police and private CCTV systems [...] providing round-the-clock coverage of the public areas of the City of London." (Home Office 1994:28). This totalled 1259 cameras by 1996 (Coaffee 2000:129). If as Esther Peeren asserts the J18 used the liminal nature of carnival to deterritorialise space (2007:69-70), then counter surveillance measures were crucial to embed in this process.

J18 activists were then tasked with creating a 'temporary autonomous zone' (TAZ) in space of heightened security. It is worth recalling here that Bey wrote

⁸⁴ See chapter 8 for more details on the Ring of Steel

about the TAZ as a response to an intensified recording and ownership of land. As Bey states of the 20th century: “Ours is the first century without *terra incognita*” (2003:100). This complete mapping and state control of space, says Bey, has infringed on the freedoms and autonomy of the individual. Although he believed this technology could be repurposed to aid the insurgency, it predominantly worked to control, command and survey territory. While engaging with ideas from the Temporary Autonomous Zone J18 activists found ways of breaking through this control and surveillance of space.

To open up a liminal space which temporarily transformed the City, security apparatus were examined by the not-for-profit cooperative Corporate Watch and the London iteration of Reclaim the Streets. This became part of a booklet printed for the event, entitled *Squaring Up to the Square Mile*,⁸⁵ that outlined the surveillance and policing mechanisms of the City. As it states in its introduction “Campaigners rarely target finance, intimidated perhaps by [...] its blanket CCTV” (Corporate Watch and London Reclaim the Streets 1999:3). This acknowledgement of CCTV as an issue is carried on in a later page entitled *Security in the City: The City police and the ring of steel*. The page goes into great detail listing the operational procedures of the Ring of Steel and the City police, giving warnings around the amount of CCTV cameras in operation – 1280 from May 1997 - and the amount of City police who patrol the Square Mile – 850 with 350 support officers (1999:29).

This countering of surveillance occurred through materials used at the J18 and within the protest form itself. Carnival masks were given out with reference on the back made to the ubiquity of CCTV and its use in identifying activists.⁸⁶ Equally a number of CCTV cameras had bags placed over them or their lenses sprayed with paint (Do or Die 1999:20; SchNEWS 1999:1). To open up a commons that deterritorialised the City counter surveillance techniques were

⁸⁵ Much of it outlined the workings of the City, positioning it in global context and developed an argument against the domination and oppression of capital through finance. It also included a map of the City pointing out areas of exploitation for protesters to use for autonomous protests.

⁸⁶ On the back of the mask it states: “The search for the resisters intensifies with endless CCTV cameras unmasking the streets with new devices that can pick out and identify a single face in the growing crowd.”

redeveloped from previous protest forms. As John Jordan states early Reclaim the Streets events adapted a tactic from the rave culture scene which used meeting points in order to keep the final location of an event secret (2016:350). As such activists would meet at a location away from the main site of action. While making their way to the main protest site decoy groups would splinter off to distract attention away from the final protest site.

This tactic for diverting police attention would be developed for the J18 into what later became known as ‘the starburst’ because of the scattering of protesters in four different directions. Larry Bogad positions this action on the J18 as a “tactical carnival” (2016:96) where physical space opened up in new ways and a subversion of power relations was attempted (2016:100-101). The crowd for the main carnival met at 12 noon in Liverpool street station (Do or Die 1999:18). The plan was they would then splinter into four different groups that would eventually join up at an unknown location. To arrange this organisers planned to split the crowd using a system of colour coded masks and flags (Tyler 2003:191). As people arrived at Liverpool street carnival masks printed in four different colours were handed out to them (SchNEWS 1999:1). Text on the back of the mask gave participants instructions on how to proceed. In large letters it was written: “on the signal follow your colour”. The ‘colour’ they were to follow referenced flags held by a series of individuals which corresponded to each of the coloured masks – gold, green, red and black. These flag holders aimed to lead four groups of masked individuals out of the station in different directions (Days of Dissent 2004:n.p). In doing this the protest form itself would attempt to defy and subvert surveillance from the City Police who were used to following a single mass of people going from A to B.⁸⁷

At 12 noon on 18 June 1999 Liverpool Street station had become full of approximately 8000 people ready to join the carnival (St John 2008:177). According to eye witnesses a number of protesters started to leave the station before the signal worried they would be contained inside (Tyler 2003:192). This

⁸⁷ This point about the City police and their assumptions around the way the carnival would move was one that was brought up by Nicola Kirkham at the *Recording Resistance* symposium in 2018

hastened the beginning of the carnival but ironically may have aided counter surveillance. As although the four organised strands did disperse confusing the police surveillance systems, the police may have been even more perplexed faced with an additionally chaotic crowd. In many ways then the general non hierarchical nature of the protest groups gathered could be used to their advantage. The police looking for a leader or a 'general'⁸⁸ were faced with multiple protest sites, inaccessible roads and an explosion of people leaving Liverpool street in all different directions. Used to an ordered input of information coming into command and control the police surveillance systems were overloaded. The carnival made it to their unguarded location of the LIFFE building undeterred (Tyler 2003:192-4).

This use of masks and flags strategically built further counter surveillance measures into the overall event. Like the 1983-4 STC this was a 'day of action' with numerous groups protesting in the City dispersing police resources amongst them. A map printed alongside the *Squaring Up* booklet highlighted the location of more than a hundred companies to protest. Early that morning individual protest groups had already started to appear at various sites in the City. Strategic roads were disabled by the use of bicycles – a tactic often used at RTS events. More than 200 cyclists, part of a movement called Critical Mass, flooded onto the streets at 7.30am that morning, halting police vans from getting to their destination (Rootes and Saunders 2007:135). CCTV cameras were covered in a move to halt police surveillance and the image capture of activists (Do or Die 1999:20; SchNEWS 1999:1). Further direct action protests such as die ins, banner drops and performative events frequently popped up through the day taking police attention (Joyce and Wain 2014:10). In doing this, the main carnival and surrounding protests managed to halt logistical flows throughout the City, to stop the city functioning.

However the physical halting of the City was also attached to a conceptual weakening of power and vice versa. As stated in the last chapter, a number of the

⁸⁸ This searching for a leader or general is a point mentioned in a number of the interviews Nicola Kirkham had with police including with FIT officers who were at the J18.

protesters were extremely interested in theories developed by the Situationist Movement, particularly Raoul Vaneigem. RTS printed 50,000 flyers for the event with a prominently placed quote from Vaneigem: “To work for delight and authentic festivity is barely distinguishable from preparing for a general insurrection” (Holmes 2007:227). In Vaneigem’s terms the protest might be seen as following the need to “adjust’ our perception to the emptiness of the spectacle.” (2006:33) In order to stop resting on delusions he believed we must enlist a radical or true creativity as the “ultimate weapon” (2006:188). He posits this as a type of creativity which cannot be co-opted by power or capital (2006:191-193). Rather it aids a reversal of perspective (2006:189) which finds “harmonious collective expression” (2006:234) in radical play. As such he discusses a “carnival spirit” (2006:x) which can be awakened in the process of realising a collective strength. In this sense the way the City was physically held by protesters also aided the development of an alternative form of consciousness.

A quote from the Diggers first manifesto, “the earth is a common treasury for all”, was stretched in front of the LIFFE building as people danced in front of it and remade the lost Walbrook river through open fire hydrants (Notes from Nowhere 2003:184; Holmes 2007:276). This action was part and parcel of what one organizer of the J18 stated was RTS’s “eclectic but coherent inspiration ranging from the sixteenth-century Diggers movement to the Situationists of 1960s Paris” (Tyler 2003:190). Much of this mixing between situationism and historic protest movements could be observed in the spoof newspaper printed for the event entitled: *Evading Standards*. While it playfully mocked the *Evening Standard*’s name and displayed parody headlines,⁸⁹ it also further referenced radical icons from history. The pseudonyms Emma Goldman and Wat Tyler were used in the byline of the lead story, referencing the protests relationship to social justice, dance, and the 14th century Peasants Revolt.

⁸⁹ It’s front page displays the headline: “Global Market Meltdown: Panic stalks Square Mile following dramatic collapse of world financial markets.” (Evading Standards 1999:1) Satirising the worst fears of financiers, the paper attempted to whip the spectacular mask away from the sanitized version of the City showing the insecurities it rested upon.

Claire Tancons positions Vaneigem's ideas as a kind of "Carnival liberation theory" (2014:297) citing his linking of the carnival to the revolutionary moment, the raucous demo and the strike. She sees this as a legacy from May 1968 merged within the J18 and heightened through an adaption of Bakhtin's subversive carnivalesque humour (2014:298). Esther Peeren specifically links the J18 to the utilisation of Bakhtinian carnival which she argues follows a motion of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation (2007:69-70). While she sees the carnival as a means to deterritorialise space she also states: "Presenting political protest in the form of carnival prompts efforts of reterritorialization through which the existing relations of domination are reaffirmed" (2007:77). Here she contends that the temporary nature of carnival acts as a provisional release from control which, when overturned, can further assert dominant power structures. Although she contends this may reaffirm power relations she also sees lasting possibilities in this form: "Because of their performative nature, which invests them with a memory, carnivals leave a lasting impression. The images of the City taken over by the demonstrators has outlasted its actual occurrence" (2007:80). Peeren suggests there may be another flow which comes out of these protests which delivers a tacit knowledge through its performative nature. However this 'image' of the City taken over by activists had a duality; it can be an emancipatory example for future struggles or used as a form of subjugation.

The police operation and scopic verituality

Public order was the responsibility of two police forces – the City of London Police (CoLP) and the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS). As such there were two command structures and two control rooms created. Each police force organised a public order strategy for their own territory. As the protest was mainly taking part within the boundary of the Square Mile the majority of the responsibility was placed on the CoLP. However the MPS did provide the CoLP with a number of police units for use within the City. Importantly there was also a public order intelligence unit which worked jointly between the CoLP and MPS. As outlined in the MPS (1999) report on the J18, 'Operation Townhouse' was implemented three months before the event to gather intelligence on the protest. Townhouse was run out of MPS Special Branch with Met officers from the Public order unit and

two full time CoLP officers. This intelligence cell had use of a team which included FIT officers, SO3 photographers (to collect forensic evidence) as well as Special Branch and detective rank officers (MPS 1999:3.6-3.7). It appears as if this intelligence cell was also filming on the day of the J18 as well as collecting information before.

While some images were used primarily for prosecution and intelligence, the networked image was used to immediately mobilise police resources.⁹⁰ The Control Room in the City was in constant contact with Scotland Yard throughout the day (Cronin and Reicher 2009:242) as images from the helicopter India 99, were fed directly to the Control Room at Scotland Yard (2009:240). Here the camera might be seen to give the police an immediate “scopic verticality” (Wall 2013:42). With this type of equipment Ullrich and Wollinger (2011:17) assert police imagine they are able to develop an overall sense of the demonstration. As Robinson (2016:466) states through doing this they have a better understanding of where to deploy resources.

Hito Steyerl (2011) observes that power relations are illuminated in these types of viewing apparatuses and perspectives. She argues “The view from above is a perfect metonymy for a more general verticalization of class relations in the context of an intensified class war from above” (2011:8).⁹¹ For her this is the ideal “perspective of overview and surveillance for a distanced superior spectator safely floating in the air” (ibid). As such she sees this scopic verticality as part of an operation of class control where a detached power continually attempts to observe and act upon the ‘other’. Steven Graham (2016:11) views the vertical sphere increasingly becoming an area of struggle in which “challenges of de-territorialisation parallel and combine with similar challenges to the sedimentation of class relations into re-territorialised vertical cities and vertical mobility systems.” We might then interpret the opening of a commons at

⁹⁰ This is evidenced in the use of helicopter footage seen in the J18 surveillance compilation and highlighted by a security advisor interviewed by Nicola Kirkham.

⁹¹ It is important to note that Steyerl is discussing both a classed and racialised body. For further context on this within a British context see: A. Sivanandan’s (2001) ‘Poverty is the new Black’

the J18 as crucially in dialogue with and battling an attempt to close it through a view from above.

In relation to these types of protests helicopter video imagery was interpreted by MPS as providing an “essential over-view that is vital to commanders.” (Kendrick 1994:45). This soptic verticality was thought to deliver an over arching view surveilling the protests for the commanders to observe and act upon. As such helicopter video would have a “strategic importance” (1994:46). What is termed the ‘Heli Teli system’ was seen to provide the control room not just with images but the ability to direct this eye in the sky. This could then help place police resources in key areas and gain order over the space below.

Yet if the helicopter footage attempted to link observation to action, its ability to do so crucially broke down on the J18 protest. The MPS Report into the protest states part of the reason the J18 diversionary tactics were so successful was because they managed to exploit flaws in the overly complex command and control structure that existed on the day. The India 99 helicopter footage shows how the City Police and their singular view from above were made impotent by the multiple moving protests. At appropriately 1.42pm the Helicopter Operative can be heard on the footage informing command and control that police resources seem trapped in a different part of the City than the majority of protesters. His audio is as follows: “You’ve got various groups making their way to [Upper] Thames Street. You’ve still got a fairly large group of people [...] at Threadneedle [Street]. And it seems to me all the police resources that we had are still up at the Bank, including carriers and officers deployed.”⁹²

The officer in the control room however still seems to be looking for a final end location where the entire protest was moving towards. He says to the Helicopter Operative: “Can you summerise it? Where does everyone seem to be heading towards at this stage?”⁹³ Yet as the four groups were autonomously moving around there was not yet a final location one could track. As the Helicopter

⁹² J18 video surveillance compilation

⁹³ J18 video surveillance compilation

Operative states: “Bank circus [sic] is one. Cannon street is the other.”⁹⁴ Here we can see the apparent difficulty the City Police have with their attention diverted via multiple moving protests. Their scopic verticality does not have a total range.

This singular observation from above could not effectively link to action. Just under 10 minutes later the police lines folded on London Wall and two of the crowds converge with police vans trapped in the middle of the crowd. This meant a large number of police resources became trapped in the north of the City within a sizable crowd. While at the same time a large crowd was gathering on Upper Thames Street in the southern end outside the LIFFE building. Through the use of four autonomous crowds the J18 protesters could overwhelm the observation systems, disabling police action and thereby initiate their protest in and outside of the LIFFE building.

A later event shows the reliance put on these images. At 16.52 the helicopter video shows a clash between a small number of protesters and police on College Street after the LIFFE building was secured by police forces.⁹⁵ While the majority of protesters were on Upper Thames street, a dozen people were filmed by the helicopter operative throwing debris at riot police. The helicopter operative and the control room officer can be heard discussing the action that could be taken on tape:

H: I'd like to suggest that we could get down a little bit lower over this and we might be able to put them off a bit at the risk of you losing some pictures for a short while

C: Negative because the reinforcements are being pulled in on the basis of what you are showing them. We need to make sure people are aware of just how strong this attack is so that they can get reinforcements in.⁹⁶

On the radio the control room officer suggests that ‘strong’ or violent images of protesters were required for command to send in further reinforcements to that

⁹⁴ J18 video surveillance compilation

⁹⁵ In her excellent PhD on the J18 Nicola Kirkham looks at this as a ‘non event’ (cite). While there are some interesting aspects drawn out of the use of video seen via this lens, I am particularly interested in how the depiction of protesters as ‘violent’ to mobilise police resources.

⁹⁶ J18 video surveillance compilation

area. Here the cogs of the two-stage connective surveillance process can be seen in slow motion as they work in a rigid hierarchical system. These images monitoring movement do not just show the police what is happening, they *act as motivators for the system to function*. What they seemingly depict becomes leveraged in order to pursue action. They have the power to pull in resources because they 'prove' a conformity to social relations is under attack.

Enclosure through extended social vision in the press

In this section I outline how the City of London Police utilised images after the protest. I highlight how they developed an extended surveillance structure that hoped to identify activists by publishing their images in the press. Many of these published images were stills from non networked surveillance video sources shot by Special Branch and the FIT team.⁹⁷ While some of these were shooting from ground level, others used the vantage position of a building roof top or window. Here they were collecting evidential images where, as criminologists Miller and Martin state, "the photograph itself is evidence, it implicates a defendant in a criminal act." (2015:9). In these cases imagery is thought of as a neutral depiction of 'criminal' act which can be used to prosecute at a later date or as intelligence.

Two days after the protest the CoLP started 'Operation Enterprise' which examined 5000 hours of video footage in an attempt to find protesters to prosecute. Detective Chief Inspector Kieron Sharp, of the City of London Police had stated in an interview with *The Times*: "We hope to identify those responsible from a mountain of evidence in the CCTV and video footage from which to identify offenders." (Bale 1999:12) However it seemed the CoLP could not identify the faces they had isolated by themselves. In order to do this they released video stills to the wider 'public' in the hope that the population could be recruited to help the

⁹⁷ This is evidenced from the J18 police surveillance video compilation and accompanying information from a security adviser interviewed by Nicola Kirkham. These camera teams were made up of a videographer and a spotter. The form of obtaining these images is outlined as a possible public order procedural tactic in a 1996 report which reflects on evidence collecting in public order situations. The report stated: "A property trained and experienced video camera operator, utilising high quality equipment, would, if located in a suitable vantage position and with the aid of a spotter, have the potential to obtain more and better quality evidence." (Bell 1996) In examining the compilation surveillance video one can hear a 'spotter' officers directing the camera operative.

police.⁹⁸ Before the stills were released the protesters were framed in particularly illustrative language. On 21 June 1999, *The Times* reported: “Police investigate riot. Detectives scrutinized security video footage of the City of London riot to identify protesters who threatened the lives of office-workers in an *orgy of destruction* of Friday [my emphasis].” While much of the language in this short news blurb frames the protesters in a negative way,⁹⁹ I want to focus on the phrase ‘orgy of destruction’ which is repeated a number of times in relation to these J18 video stills. In the year leading up to the article ‘orgy of destruction’ was used to describe: ethnic cleansing in the Balkans,¹⁰⁰ a Nazi riot,¹⁰¹ and a number of horror films.¹⁰² Already through putting this phrase in its immediate context we can understand how this language might create a certain vision of the J18; one of carnage and of horror.

Yet, this was not the first time that this phrase was used to defame the left. The term was used to describe a number of pickets towards the end of Britain’s first ever national building workers strike in 1972. The Shrewsbury pickets were described by *The Daily Mail* on September 7 (Reporter 1972:9) as an ‘orgy of destruction’ and *The Times* described them in the same way on September 8 of the same year (Correspondent 1972:2). Subsequently a number of union organizers were arrested due to alleged activities on these pickets (Shrewsbury 24 n.d). After decades contesting these arrests in 2019 the court of appeal agreed to reconsider the case, in part due to some of the prejudicial media coverage that happened over the trial (Shrewsbury 24 2019:n.p). Therefore this term also has a

⁹⁸ In releasing these images the CoLP used both news outlets and their own internet webpage to widen their ability to reach potential recruits who might identify these suspects.

⁹⁹ This negative framing of the protest and protesters can be seen in the way the action became termed as a ‘riot’ and protesters depicted as having ‘threatened the lives of office workers’.

¹⁰⁰ This was used by Emma Daly in her front page article on March 30 1999 in the Independent headlined: “Numbed by fatigue and fear, the refugees flee Serb death squads” in it she states: “Columns of smoke rose in the distance, signs of the orgy of destruction in Kosovo.” (1999:1) In relation to the Balkans this phrase had been used in the Independent by Tim Judah (1998:5) and in the Telegraph by Julius Strauss and Oliver Poole (1999:17).

¹⁰¹ In his article for the Telegraph entitled: “Foley the spy who saved 10,000 jews” Michael Smith wrote: “Mob law ruled in Berlin throughout the afternoon and evening as hordes of hooligans indulged in an orgy of destruction [after Hitler ordered demonstrations in 1938]” (1999:34)

¹⁰² On example of this was in The Daily Telegraph. The ‘Monday TV guide’, on April 26 1998 stated: “It lives again, Horror sequel in which three mutant babies embark on a blood drenched orgy of destruction.” (1998:62)

precedent of use, which attempts to portray left wing direct action as destructive in time periods leading up to potential arrests and prosecutions.

In terms of the J18 this phrase 'orgy of destruction' was continually tied to the faces of individual protesters pictured in newspapers. The first journalist to do this was Peter Rose the Chief Crime Correspondent for the Daily Mail. He was known to his colleagues as the 'copper's crime reporter' (Press Gazette 2010:n.p) because of his close workings with the police. Tim Godwin the Deputy Commissioner of the Met said of Rose: "He fully understood the importance of good relationships between the police and media." (ibid) On October 2nd 1999, two days before the images of protesters were put on the City of London Police website, the Daily Mail published Rose's full page article picturing 32 video still and photographs of J18 participants under the headline: "Do you know these thugs?" Rose detailed that the police were "trying to identify thugs who caused more than £2million damage in an orgy of destruction" and the "photos were released to the Daily Mail in the hope that readers may be able to help" (1999a:27). Importantly, the request for readers to identify the individuals pictured was done at the same time as they were framed as 'thugs' involved in an 'orgy of destruction'.¹⁰³

In the article phone numbers, emails and web addresses are listed so that readers can contact the police or Crimestoppers with more information. As the article states the images would be released on the internet two days later. Here this surveillance structure asks the newspaper readership to take part in the work of what we might call bio-powered facial recognition.¹⁰⁴ The 'public' are asked to decipher the face, like an algorithm scanning pictures to see if they match with a

¹⁰³ The request for the 'public' to aid the police was reiterated in Rose's article by DCI Sharp. He highlighted the hole that the City of London Police were asking the 'public' to fill: "We've made use of police video and still photography material to target the main suspects. Now we're looking for help from the public to identify them." (Rose 1999a:27) The gap outlined by the police was in identifying those captured on video or in photographs; they have the faces, but no more.

¹⁰⁴ Bio-powered facial recognition might easily go back to the wanted poster, this particular version is of interest as it uses humans in relation to computer networks bridging the gap between them through mechanisms of framing. Equally there are numerous examples of activist images being published in the newspaper for arrest. However this use of images from this particular event shows how a hyper surveilled space can be utilized in line with 'public communications' to criminalise dissent.

database. While the machine will do this automatically these readers need a reason to act; to provide free labour. They need to be motivated in order to carefully examine the images and then inform the police if they recognise them. It is in motivating action that framing becomes important.

DCI Sharp frames the “demonstrators” as having “committed acts of extreme violence involving serious criminal damage. On occasions life was endangered” (ibid). After highlighting the violent and dangerous nature of the protesters he goes on to including their lack of concern for the ‘public’: “All of this took place with a total disregard for the safety of those who live and work in the City. I can’t emphasise enough the terror that was brought to London on that day” (ibid). Here readers are told those pictured are members of a rampant force that cares little for their well being; those involved in an ‘orgy of destruction’ only revel in what they can tear down. The protest becomes a depoliticised act subsumed into the hegemony of *The Daily Mail*. The readership are asked do the work of the police or this terrifying force will linger in their community or communities elsewhere.

We might see this in terms of Stuart Hall’s notion of encoding and decoding, where he aligns the coding and interpretation of mediatised texts to the production and realisation of value in Marx (2006:164-5).¹⁰⁵ Here messages may not always be interpreted exactly as they are encoded, yet within societal and institutional frameworks codes are ‘naturalised’ creating the conditions for perception. As Hall states: “there is no intelligible discourse without the operation of a code” (2006:167). While there may be negotiated or oppositional interpretations of the discourse presented there is also a dominant-hegemonic position (2006:171-173). Under a dominant-hegemonic position the “orgy of destruction” term, linked to a contextual and previous use, would be decoded to aid an interpretation of the images presented and frame the overall protest.

¹⁰⁵ This approach is an interesting one as just as Marx did not always believe value was realized Hall did not always see messages as decoded in their ideal way (Hall 2006:163). Yet within systems of societal power relations these structural processes of coding and production are seen as foundational to dominance at the level of discourse and the material.

Crucially, decoding the text in this way, it was hoped, would lead readers to the action police required of them.

Further frames were constructed around these photographs more than 2 weeks later on 21 October 1999 when five newspapers published surveillance images of protesters. Under the headline: "Wanted" *The Daily Mail* published another article by Peter Rose, this time highlighting three images specifically of female protesters. The subheading read: "These women were at the City of London riot. Do you recognise them?" Again the phrase 'orgy of destruction' is linked to the published images. As Rose reminds readers: "Their images were captured on video during the orgy of destruction." Here however he suggests that these women were "orchestrating the attacks on a mobile phone." (1999b:38) This idea that the protesters were intent on premeditated violent attacks gives further weight to the idea this was an 'orgy of destruction' delegitimising the political aims of the protest.¹⁰⁶

The same day *The Mirror's* headline "The Riot Women" further emphasises the supposed violent urges of these gendered "ringleaders". The half page article shows a large image of a woman pictured holding up her middle finger and has six images underneath of women's faces. The subheading reads: "Internet photos show girls were ringleaders in violent City demo" (Gibson 1999:18). This underlining of gender seems to contrast 'femininity' and 'violence' for a sensationalist effect. Here further frames are built around the idea of 'girls' hiding sinister intent. This hidden aspect is emphasised by the police 'spokesman' in the article:

some are on the face of it perfectly respectable people, but have been involved in these serious criminal offences. All criminals live in a community somewhere, and we would urge people to examine these photos and if they think they recognise them, contact us. (ibid)

¹⁰⁶ Readers were also congratulated on the practice of informing they provided after the last article. It is stated that this "helped track down a number of suspected rioters." (Rose 1999b:38)

A conceptual frame is developed around the women photographed which positions them as instigators of violence who may be hiding in 'respectable communities'. This framing is directly tied to the labour police are requesting of readers. The motivation for examining images, searching ones memory and contacting the police is tied to the protection of ones community and the punishing of rogue women that have transcended normative gender roles.

Patricia Melzer argues that within dominant press narratives there is a "general casting of politically violent women as inherently (gender) deviant" (2009:36). They are not defined as "political agents, but as misguided, 'unnatural' women" (2009:41). As she asserts these create "moments of destabilization of gender conventions: a deviance [...] within an already deviant framework" (2009:36). Hannah Proctor argues that these ideas about female criminal 'abnormality' were supported by 19th century 'medical science' where violence was seen as worse in women because it "transgressed the ideal masculine-feminine binary" (2017:24). Within established normative constructs Lori Marso highlights an "easy equation of female violence with insanity or excessive female sexual desire." (2016:872). These contradict with what Melzer sees as essentialist associations between "women, motherhood, and nonviolence" (2011:83) propagating "gender roles within a framework of Christian (hetero)sexual morality" (2011:84). In relation to the articles on female protesters at the J18, we can see the motivating factor for identifying these activists as being linked to the fear of subversion in one's own community. The protesters aims are again ignored and subsumed by these encompassing frames.

Brian Martin (2005) sees this "devaluing" of subjects as a key aspect of police framing where events are reinterpreted and protesters stigmatised (2005:215). Equally this attempt at devaluing the aims of protesters can be seen to encourage different actions depending on how it is framed. Psychologists Paul Thibodeau and Lera Boroditsky (2011) discuss the metaphorical use of language in presenting social issues and the way in which this might direct thinking. They conducted a survey in which two sets of participants were given the same statistical data on rising crime rates in Addison. One group were given a

paragraph where crime was described as a “virus infecting a city” the other a “wild beast preying on a city” (2011:3). According to their data the group who had crime described as a virus wanted to find the background problems behind criminal activity and institute reforms. Those who had crime described as a wild beast “proposed catching and jailing criminals and enacting harsher enforcement laws” (2011:2). Here the metaphorical use of language in framing ‘criminal’ activity seemed to have an effect on the actions taken to deal with such behaviour. In the context of the J18 this use of ‘orgy of destruction’ and the presentation of activists as intent on violence might be seen to deliver a similar ‘wild beast’ framing in order to encourage readers to want to catch and jail such individuals.

The Sun takes a harder line, further delivering a ‘wild beast’ framing. The headline “Spite Girls” – assumedly a play on pop band the Spice Girls – is accompanied by the subheading: “Hunt for ‘Catwoman’ and evil pals in £2m City riot” At the beginning of this article the author Simon Hughes states “Cops probing the City of London riot are hunting a girl thug nicknamed Catwoman.”¹⁰⁷ Hughes states the protester wore “a Catwoman-style mask” emphasising the beast like nature of this individual. Yet this mask was just one of the eight thousand carnival masks given to protesters on the day of the event. In defining the mask as a ‘Catwoman-style’ it abstracts it from the ‘carnival aesthetic’ which the mask was produced to replicate. To isolate this one woman as wearing a mask negates the fact that almost every person on the event was wearing a similar one at some point. So when Hughes writes: “At one stage during the riot, Catwoman pulled her mask down in a bid to hide her identity” this statement does not acknowledge that the protest had a carnival element and that the act of covering ones face did not necessarily prove criminal intent.

Instead this individual is linked through the mask to a fictional animalistic supervillain from the 1992 film ‘Batman Returns’ and the original DC comic Batman series. While Hughes article again positions the protest as an ‘orgy of destruction’ he also sexualises and vilifies individual participants, intensifying the visions

¹⁰⁷ What is not clear from reading this article is that it is the Sun seem to be the only ones who have ‘nicknamed’ this woman.

within this phrase. 'Catwoman' is described as "naked from the waist up [sic] apart from a pink bra." Under an image of 'Catwoman' the caption states she: "smirks during the rampage" All this fits with the fictional character of Catwoman who uses her sexuality and strength to organise 'villainous' activities. An image is constructed in the mind of the reader through the allegory of Batman's nemesis. We might see further elements of fear being built here around female sexual power; one which disrupts the patriarchal hegemony of the Sun. A hegemony where normative constructs around gender are used to dismiss challenges to a power historically developed through class exploitation and capital.

Hughes paints a picture of spiteful, violent women who attacked the City in "an explosion of hatred" in which "protesters ran amok". Here not only are other communities potentially under attack from violence, but also from a fluidity of gender norms and female empowerment. Perhaps it is telling then that the woman who was nicknamed 'Catwoman' by the Sun was one of the ones later found through the publishing of video stills. On 11 March 2000 she was jailed for nine months for throwing debris at police after invading the LIFFE building. No one, it seems, was hurt by her actions.

Here we can see how police used video stills in conjunction with newspaper framing techniques in order to include the 'public' or readers of specific newspapers as working elements of an extended surveillance system. As such individual protesters became subsumed by surveillance images which worked to criminalize them. This extended surveillance system connected images to personal data leading to the arrest of a number of protesters on the J18. As such we might see this as what Hall et al called an "ideological frame [...] laid across the field of social vision" (1978:29). Hall et al see these ideological frames as contributing to a moral panic in which fear is spread about a category of event because "[t]hey are presented as outside what is 'normal' in our society – even 'normal' to crime." (1978:31). As John Clarke argues the law and order society that was presented in Hall et al continued through Thatcher intensifying the political role of the police and through New Labour in the "development of the security state" (2008:127). While this social vision was extending out through the

use of surveillance images published in the press, it also moved internally via these new technological forms.

Institutional vision and spectacular video

One could also argue that both type of video use – from the helicopter and from the FIT and Special Branch teams – became what law scholar Jessica Silbey termed “evidence verité” (2004:501). Here Silbey’s term aimed to problematise the use of police video recording, seeing it as a form of filmic narrative construction. She later argues this as a form of “police filmmaking” (2005:113) in which the framing and audience perception shape understanding. Similarly other law scholars use film theory in order to, as Buchanan and Johnson state, understand how: “viewers are actively positioned by film to identify with certain points of view; to see some groups of people as trustworthy, dangerous, disgusting, laughable; to experience some kinds of violence as normal; to see some lives as lightly expendable.” (2009: 33-34)

It is worth bearing in mind that while one might attempt to understand how these points of view are positioned, these filmic texts may not have one over-riding interpretation. Mnookin’s (2014:48) comments that “visual evidence neither speaks for itself nor permits unbounded interpretations, but rather, has a range of plausible—and potentially inconsistent—readings.” This resonates with Hall’s assertion that there should be a recognised difference between encoding and decoding media texts (2006:163-173). While institutionalised power relations play a large role in how these videos are understood, there are interpretive variables which may allow for alternative readings.

However, in examining texts which are developed for institutional purposes the encoding developed could be seen to take on even more importance. In strictly hierarchical institutions there may be disciplinary measures around how texts are decoded. Eyal Weizman argues: “police forensics is a disciplinary project that affirms the power of state” (2014:10). As such he sees a “forensic gaze” (2014:11) from the police which affirm hegemonic understandings. This notion of forensics

as a practice of strict disciplinary decoding might also relate to the encoding of filmic texts created and edited by the police.

Much of this can be seen through a police made film compiled of surveillance footage taken on the day of the J18 (the J18 police film) and how it was used. The film is made up of Special Branch video, video taken from activists, FIT video, helicopter footage and video from the broadcast media. The duration of the film is around 1 hour and 34 minutes. It is linear in that it follows the timescale of the day from about 12 noon to late in the evening. It was used by the police to understand how they lost control of the demonstration and also for training purposes. I argue this film aided a suppression of direct action through the way in which it encoded the video text and encouraged specific decodings of this. As such it helped to institutionally historicise the J18, within the City and Met police forces, through the use of internal framing devices.

We can see the frames built by police to accompany this J18 video, through the archive I developed with Nicola Kirkham at the May Day Rooms. It is clear through her recorded interview with the Security officer who gave Kirkham the film that he viewed this video in a particular light and imagined it may have a particular form of agency. On handing her the VHS cassette containing the film the then Security Advisor to the City of London Police said to Kirkham: “look at the footage and analyse it [...] You can’t, I don’t think anyone could look at it and justify what they did.”¹⁰⁸ Here the security officers starts to outline the contours of the frame he uses to view the video and which he may have hoped Kirkham would use to decode it. Although as he said later this was an example of the “police doing things wrong”¹⁰⁹ the idea that police may have inflamed a situation or acted to enhance violence on the ground is not examined. He refers to how the police “got slaughtered here this day” by what he calls the “great unwashed”¹¹⁰. For him this was, as he states, “a single-minded attempt to cause damage and

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Kirkham

¹⁰⁹ *ibid*

¹¹⁰ *ibid*

injury”¹¹¹. We might see his language around this film as instigating a ‘wild beast’ framing of the protesters on this event.

Rather than a forensic study of the entire protest, at key moments just before the severe use of police force against the crowd the ‘surveillance’ video footage cuts away to broadcast montage footage. This, I argue, is extremely significant. Pivotal moments when the mood of the crowd changed are exempt from the ‘forensic’ analysis that is applied to the overall strategy of the protest and the indiscretions by members of the crowd. For example a key turning point on the day was when a woman was run over by a police van as this provoked outbursts from certain members of the crowd. Throughout most of the film we see a forensic analysis through the intercutting of a variety of view points – from above and on the ground – most of them time stamped. Before the female protester was run over helicopter footage and on the ground video gives a detailed account of how the crowd surrounded police vans on London Wall. Yet in the moments leading up to the accident surveillance footage is cut and television broadcast footage takes its place.

There is no surveillance footage analysing the details of what happened directly before this woman was run over. There is no examination of exactly who was at fault in this collision. Instead a broadcast montage takes the place of surveillance footage in the lead up to the incident. The TV clip put in place of the surveillance footage shows video of a demonstrator climbing onto a van and kicking the top with audio from a TV journalist that states: “In London Wall the police found themselves outnumbered with some demonstrators taking advantage” Others can be seen jumping on the van. The journalist continues: “After several minutes the driver tried to leave at speed falling under the wheels a female protester.” Yet the van we see driving through the crowd has no protesters on the top of it. As the van in the news footage builds up speed it looks as if someone is run over as the

¹¹¹ *ibid*

van bumps over something on the ground.¹¹² People chase the van kicking it, visibly upset. “A few responded with anger,” the voice over says.

This disparity between the shot of the van with people on it and the van driving off without people on top leaves one wondering what has been missed. Or even whether this was the order that the events happened in? Was it that people climbed on the van and then it left at speed? Or did it leave at speed and then people climbed on a van? Are these even the same van? We don't know as unlike the majority of the film there is no helicopter shot of the accident. We only cut back to the helicopter surveillance footage directly after the incident when the crowd are kicking the van.¹¹³ It seems a forensic analysis of this incident and its causes are irrelevant to the police's perspective.

Rather the film seems concerned with how this event was depicted and interpreted by the television news media – how it was encoded and might be decoded. At the start of the news footage we hear the reporter giving commentary on the woman who was run over by the police van: “This is the moment the mood turned. A protest which had been peaceful becoming an ugly confrontation...” There is a recognition through the inclusion of this in the video that this moment was interpreted by the television media as a changing point in the mood of the protest. However, while watching the film together the Security Advisor is recorded describing this event to Kirkham stating: “it's just a mass of people attacking the police.”¹¹⁴ Rather than examining or trying to explain the accident and its ramifications this seems to be brushed to one side.

What I would suggest this points to is the police's use of this video surveillance not as an objective tool of forensic study but as part of a framing device for historicising protest; an instrument of police pedagogy. Again we might interpret

¹¹² It is only in a frame by frame analysis that one can see what looks to be a figure being hit by the van and falling under the wheels. However the edit does not slow the film down at this point. It is only when the police are injured that the film slows down and puts a circle around protesters.

¹¹³ As the helicopter pulls up we can see the shot is still of London Wall in what appears to be the exact area the broadcast footage left off at London Wall and Circus Place. It seems as if the helicopter shot matches perfectly with the end of the collisions. However as stated we do not see a forensic analysis of what occurred directly before.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Kirkham

this as developing a field of social vision through the ideological frame (Hall et al 1978:29). In this case this video becomes an ideological tool which reinforces concepts of irrational crowd volatility and delegitimises irregular forms of direct action. Here we might argue surveillance has become spectacle and spectacle surveillance. As Crary (1989: 105) asserts the spectacle and surveillance are not mutually exclusive concepts.¹¹⁵ Debord's spectacle not only conceptualises the mass media but also works as a "technology of separation" (Crary 2001: 74). Like surveillance Crary argues the spectacle is not just "an optics of power, but an architecture." (Crary 2001:75)

While surveillance attempts to create order through linking monitoring to action, the spectacle orders through a mediated version of reality administered by societal powers. Although these concepts have differences in items such as this video we might also see them overlap. In an interview with Marcelo Exposito, Nicola Kirkham positions this film as a subjective analysis of what happened. As she states (2004): "the narrative essentially presented the police force under attack." According to this interpretation, under pressure for a failed attempt to keep 'public order', the City police created a film which showed seemingly random outbreaks of violence from a crowd gone wild. A constructed vision of illegitimate subjects and their actions to be passed through the institution.

Visualising the kettle

However, in other ways this film attempted a deep analysis of crowd movement. It seemed to act as a way of the City police getting a grasp on the tactics used by protesters on the J18. This police film was about generating knowledge from surveillance video regarding the totality of an event. It examined how the crowd worked around already existing police and surveillance systems. The large multitude of people do not act as an ordered whole – all going in one direction – instead the crowd came together and broke apart in seemingly random patterns.

¹¹⁵ In a well know dismissal of Debord, Foucault stated: "Our society is not one of spectacle, but of surveillance; under the surface of images one invests bodies in depth." (Foucault 1995: 217 quoted in Crary 1989:105) His argument being that there are greater disciplining structures at work than what one might crudely associate with the idea of the spectacle (ie the mass media). For Foucault it is the disciplining of bodies in space which is crucial to understanding our relationship to power, not the images one observes.

As Kirkham (2004) states: “There is an inability of policing [...] in terms of their operations in the field [to comprehend] a leaderless movement.” The police look for generals and a pyramid structure which mirrors their own operational tactics and that of the military. On the day of the 18 June 1999 they could not find one.

This film could be seen as an attempt to uncover a police strategy that might disable this type of protest. The film shows a detailed account of how the four colour coded groups manoeuvred themselves around the City, trapping police resources and overtaking the LIFFE building. Though equally of interest to the film is what the protesters did after they invaded the LIFFE building and how the police failed to immobilize them. In fact only approximately a third of the film is made up of how the protesters got to the LIFFE building. This takes up 36.16 minutes of the overall time. The following 58 minutes – the majority of the film – is made up of the protesters exiting the City. The film continually documents the splitting of the crowd and where containment and dispersal techniques were put in place.

A key moment in the film is where protesters are pushed away from the LIFFE building and down Upper Thames street by police lines. A group of demonstrators who were thought to be a ‘hard core element’ were then pushed away from the rest of the crowd and moved onto Southwalk bridge. Here we see a major focus on the kettle which seemingly contains the crowd calmly and is contrasted with the surrounding chaos. According to the time on the video at appropriately 18.00 a large group of protesters are pushed across Southwalk bridge to be met by 9 police vans blocking the road. A line of police hem them in from behind. At this point the video cuts back to Upper Thames Street where protesters who had previously been charged by horses are smashing the windows of an office block. A conversation can be heard on the radio between the control room and the helicopter operative.

C: it looks as though the hard core group are still well in play.

H: I'm inclined to agree with you because only small percentage of the

group that was at that junction got pushed over the bridge. The vast majority is in [Upper] Thames [street]¹¹⁶

Although there was a failure to contain and isolate the 'hardcore' crowd the video continually cuts between the contained area and the main protest. As such we see the containment on the bridge as a space of control compared to the seeming disorder happening all around the City. For example at 18.08 after the video shows us more confrontations on Upper Thames street between police and protesters it cuts back to the contained area on Southwalk Bridge. The helicopter zooms in on the protesters who seem unable to move. It then pans to show a protest road block by Blackfriars Station with the helicopter operative complaining to the control room that this has caused major disruption to traffic. After doing this it again cuts to the helicopter footage of the seeming calm of the contained area on Southwalk Bridge. The helicopter zooms in on the static protesters standing there seemingly immobile, before cutting to a fire over by the main protest group heading towards Blackfriars. Through this surveillance film then we see the kettle – a contained area – historicised as an appropriate control device for a crowd who can seemingly split apart at any moment. This visual surveillance of the J18 would be used to provide evidence for a change in police tactics.

The J18 and the visual surveillance of this protest are often used in explanations of how police changed their tactics in relation to public order and protest. As Commander Broadhurst stated to the *Home Affairs Committee* in May 2009: "We saw in J18, as we dispersed them (we can show you video footage) back in 1999, when we got our tactics wrong, they caused lots of damage" (1999:Ev48). Here the surveillance video itself acts as evidence for how the tactics of the police were 'wrong' on the J18. However in Broadhurst eyes there was essentially only a binary choice of what they could have done. As he states these boil down to: "either contain your crowd or disperse your crowd" (ibid). Here he suggest that direct action crowds who attempt to stop the city must either be displaced or enclosed by the police.

¹¹⁶ J18 film dialogue

Chris Allison the Assistant Commissioner of the Met Police asserts the J18 and its public order failure gave birth to the use of the 'kettle' as a primary public order formation. In July 2009 Allison informed the *Joint Committee on Human Rights* how public order tactics were changed following the J18. He asserts that previous to this point a general tactic of dispersal would take place on major events which were interpreted as creating disorder. According to Allison this has its problems: "When you end up dispersing a crowd that have turned violent, the criminal damage and disorder that is caused is significant." (2009:Ev20) This it seems is the lesson policing tactics took from the J18; that dispersal creates a scattering effect which continues the 'problem' elsewhere. As Allison confirms: "We then moved, following J18, which was significant disorder in the City 10 years ago, to a containment tactic." (ibid) This approach intended to quash further disorder by literally containing the 'problem' in one space through a use of human and material barricades around protesters.

The tactic seemed to originally attempt to immobilise the movements of protesters so that further damage to property and 'public order' could not be made. Allison gives the example of the so called London N30 event to explain when this tactic of containment was first put into force. The N30 event itself was a follow on event from the J18 in November 1999 paralleling the protests in Seattle. The N30 in London according to Allison used containment to stop an already violent crowd, where as many of the protesters reported the heavy handed police tactics used to contain them led to violence (urban 75 1999:n.p). Allison continues in his evidence to the *Joint Committee* to attribute positives to this strategy:

The rationale behind the containment tactic, in terms of the overall peace, is a reduction in crime and disorder, because we actually see you require less use of force from the Police Service to put in place a containment than you do if you are dispersing crowds through the streets of London. (1999:Ev21)

These containment tactics can also be seen as a reaction to the observed strategies of the anti-roads and global justice movement. For example the

diversionary tactics used by multiple crowds as we saw above was particularly difficult for the police to constrain. This non-hierarchical crowd that may segment at any point – possibly using mobile communications to keep in contact – can also have multiple final destinations. This means that if one group is halted another can get to a secondary destination of protest. In short it appears police on encountering seemingly leaderless movements feel the best course of action is to constrain them completely, slowly draining them of people and energy. This surveillance of protesters via video and other forms of monitoring led to the police changing their public order tactics. While protesters attempted to open up a common, the police developed tactics via surveillance to enclose them.

Development of a police commons – operation Benbow

After the Carnival Against Capitalism the City of London commissioned two examinations of the police operation one by Perry Nove the City Police Commissioner, the other by Anthony Speed, the former Assistant Commissioner of the Met Police. The first report by the City Police accepts weaknesses in the procedures, systems and judgements made in planning and on the day. Crucially the structuring of command and control was seen as “unnecessarily complicated by two police operations (ie one in the City and one in the MPD)” (Nove 1999a:17). It highlights ‘communication problems’ that occurred between the two forces causing further confusion in policing. The report states that due to the likelihood of protests spilling outside of the City two event control rooms were set up, one inside the City and one out (Nove 1999a:7-10).

Yet as was made clear previously once the event escalated to include numerous protests and a segmenting crowd, the City of London Police Event Control Room was, as the report states, “unsuitable for dealing with the volume of messages and information it received.” (Nove 1999a:17). This then affected its ability to tactically control the event itself. Overall the report details the J18: “... revealed and level of sophistication of planning not previously seen at similar demonstrations before.” The report concludes that “Action to regain the confidence of the business City and to position the Force to deal with similar events in the future must be progressed as quickly as possible.” (Nove 1999a:19)

Anthony Speed's report agreed with these findings and stated that "Now that the City of London has been identified as a target by extremist demonstrators [...] I am of the view that lessons need to be learned quickly in order to improve the performance in the maintenance of public order in the future." (Speed 1999:7) Yet part of this learning seems to be that the peaceful crowd was used to 'hide' extremist agitators. As the initial report states: "The many (relatively) peaceful elements in the crowds were used to mask the violent intentions of the extremists" (Nove 1999a:18). This understanding of protesters as violent or extremist would motivate further changes in the policing of London.

On August 10 1999, Perry Nove Commissioner of the City of London Police sent a letter to Operational Policing at the Home Office detailing his agreement to a major review of Public Order Policing in the City of London. This would be delivered by a joint CLP/MPS working group and produce what he termed a "joint command and control protocol (for future operations)" (Nove 1999b:n.p). In its agreed terms of reference the review makes explicit its relation to the J18 (or what they term the Carnival Against Capitalism). These terms of reference were listed as follows:

"Using the 'Carnival Against capitalism' demonstration in the City of London on the 18th June 1999 as a point of reference, identify improvements to Strategy, Tactics and Support Systems, and make recommendations for the better maintenance of Public Order when demonstrations take place in the City." (Nove 1999b:n.p)

As such we can see the centrality of the J18 to these developments. A specific focus of the review was to be "Systems, Cross Border liaison and resourcing". The letter states that by November the joint forces would agree a "new Force Order (Functional) Strategy" (ibid). The review would have a Steering Committee that was chaired by Anthony Speed, AC Hart (CoLP) and Commander Messinger (MPS). The review would develop what is known as Operation Benbow.

As the Operation Benbow April 9 2001 document stated this change in public order policing creates a joint strategy, protocols and procedures “for the policing of a pre-planned and spontaneous public order and other public events” (2001:1) in Greater London. Benbow created an agreement where the events can be policed as a single operation headed either by the Metropolitan, City or British Transport Police (2001:5). On page 28 the document discusses “pre-event public order intelligence / operations protocol.” As stated in the document after the observed events of the J18 the police services in London felt it was vital “to identify and establish a model for the flow of intelligence during the pre-event period of public operations affecting both the Metropolitan and City of London Police forces.” (2001:28) The report gives an outline of the reasons they might need to share this information: “The current assessment from Special Branch is that ‘RTS’ are capable of staging one ‘spectacular’ demonstration a year” (ibid) In their eyes they wanted to find ways of creating information flows to stop this.

As the July 1999 Met review of the J18 stated: “the fundamental issue arising from the experience of the J18 is that the organisers had one event, whilst *‘the police’* had two.” (1999:2) By this they elude to the fact that information from protesters organisers could be streamlined, where as flows of information from the police was halted between command structures. It was noted in paragraph 4.1 of the report that the MPS had “reservations” (1999:5) about the separate command structures and plans for the event. While it was not recorded in their individual statement of operation orders, the report states: “the overall strategy for the MPS was to ‘isolate and contain.’” (1999:6)¹¹⁷ This tactic was chosen because of surveillant knowledge in the MPS.

The report states that the MPS had knowledge that “decoy actions were likely to take place” and “diversionary tactics were to be expected” and that therefore “the strategy for disorder was isolation and containment” (1999:8). In a some what frustrated sentence the MPS report states: “The tactics decided upon by the MPS were sound in principle, they were however jeopardised by the perverse decisions made by the City command team.” (1999:8) It seems as if the police

¹¹⁷ Although, this was not written anywhere the report states it was in the briefing notes.

services themselves were in their own battle for strategic and tactical superiority. An ironic one sentence paragraph after a statement on joint working under a single command and control the report states: “2.7 It may well be that ‘J18’ proves to be the catalyst for change.” (1999:3) It seems the MPS were eager that the learning from the J18 should be a catalyst for their tactical and territorial supremacy.

In a 1999 note to the Operation Benbow document the Metropolitan Police included an additional note from Special Branch suggesting a change in intelligence protocols. This intended to create a deeper connection between the Special Branch surveillance of the Met and the City. Key to this note is a bold line stating “for relevant public order operations, there will be one joint SB facility” (1999:n.p). We might infer from this information from MPS Special Branch may not have been shared at the J18. Crucially it may be this blockage of information was because of what they term ‘source protection’. As the note states: “The purpose of the system is to develop best quality intelligence for operational action (including pre-event) whilst protecting sources of intelligence. The principle of source protection should be understood and run through this entire process.” (1999:n.p)

Leveraging the J18 for further undercover surveillance

Unbeknownst to protesters on the Carnival Against Capital, the Met Police Special Branch unit known as the Special Demonstration Squad had an undercover officer helping to organise the protest. Andrew James Boyling – known to protesters as Jim Sutton – was part of the central logistical group who devised the starburst tactic which undermined the police surveillance system (Campaign to Opposing Police Surveillance 2018:n.p) As high court documents testify “Mr Boyling had infiltrated that movement [Reclaim the Streets] on the orders of his superiors, using the pseudonym ‘Jim Sutton’” (R v Director of Public Prosecutions 2018). Those from the logistical team in Reclaim the Streets have detailed that Boyling was one of the ten members involved. As one outlined to the Guardian: “We met weekly for over six months [...] The 10 of us ... were the only people who knew

the whole plan before the day itself and who had decided that the main target would be Liffe” (Monbiot 2014:n.p).

It is unclear why this information was not passed on from the Met Police to the City of London Police or if it was why it was not acted upon more fully. Both the police reports on the J18 referenced communication problems between the Metropolitan Police and the City of London Police force. The teams had two different command and control centres on the day which could evidence a division of information. If this information was not passed on to the City of London Police then this might be an effect of state agencies working in silos gathering information which they section off for their own particular purposes. So it may be that this information resided in the Met but was not shared due to public order being organised by the City of London Police. Owing to the sensitive nature of undercover work it is highly likely¹¹⁸ that few in the Met outside Special Branch knew of Boyling’s placement. This information is generally released on a need to know basis to public order units. Special Branch, hoping to keep their officer embedded in RTS, may not have released this information outside of its unit for operational purposes.¹¹⁹

It is worth recognising that, through its ‘public order failure’, the J18 seems to have been a catalyst for furthering undercover policing operations.¹²⁰ The J18 happened in the same year as police in the UK started to expand their use of undercover operatives with the National Public Order Intelligence Unit (NPOIU).¹²¹ The NPOIU aimed to provide a more “national service” (HMIC 2012 38) extending out from Scotland Yard Special Branch London. Anthony Speed, the man who headed the reorganisation of public order policing after the J18 (Burns

¹¹⁸ Thank you to Donal for discussion on this

¹¹⁹ While it is unclear the extent to which officers outside of the undercover units understood exactly how they worked, there is evidence that the use of undercovers in suppressing protest groups was known about widely by 2004. As the Director of Public Relations for the City of London stated to Nicola Kirkham that year: “One of the reasons why this [type of protest] has subsided is of course that MI5 have been doing their job properly and have got inside these organisations and found out what they’re up to and basically busted them apart.” Here we see an acknowledgement of the work that undercover officers do in quashing protest historicised as ‘orgies of destructions’. (interview with Kirkham)

¹²⁰ Donal made this point at the 20th anniversary of J18

¹²¹ Although the NPOIU was already getting initiated before the J18

1999:7), had been an avid supporter of the idea of an NPOIU since 1998. A year before the J18, as Assistant Commissioner of the Met, he was advocating what was termed “a national police unit” which would “compile profiles of protesters and organisations considered to be potentially troublesome.” (Bennetto 1998:n.p) He specifically listed those who were in the process of “‘reclaiming’ the streets” (ibid) as targets.

The J18 would have been an extremely visible instance of a public order policing operation which on the face of it didn’t act fully on, was not in communication with, or was not seen to be using information from undercover operatives. The day Anthony Speed’s report on the J18 came out, critiquing the failure of communication, the Association of Chief Police Officers met. Speed had previously been the chair of this organisation. The meeting focused on the NPOIU. One of the main points they underlined was that the unit now needed further funding for their work to progress in terms of the “flow of intelligence”. They felt it was time for the NPOIU service to be “marketing” (ACPO 1999) across UK police forces while at the same time linking to the existing work done at Special Branch. (ibid) The cost of NPOIU was later estimated by Roger Pearce, Commander of Special Branch, as being £1.6 million in January 2000 with £1 million coming directly from the Home Office (ACPO 2000a).

Therefore just as public order procedure was being reformed to include new strategic methods, intelligence gathering was intensifying around undercover operatives. Pearce highlighted the thinking around this, in April 2000, when he underlined how “the importance of co-ordinating police action in response to NPOIU intelligence had been confirmed in light of recent events.” (ACPO 2000b) Given the visibility of the J18 one might assume Pearce was referring to this protest. We might say this protest was subsumed by a surveillance operation in order to leverage police funds. It was reterritorialised to create a new police commons.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the ways that protesters opened up a commons on the J18 through counter surveillant measures and in turn how police used surveillant means in an attempt to close this. Visual surveillance measures suppressed direct action through news outlets, new public order procedures and undercover operations. While activists found innovative ways of choreographing the movement of protesters around surveillance structures providing them with success on the day, recorded and embodied visual surveillance was still used in the aftermath of the protest in attempts to halt this type of action in the City and else where. On the one hand, the spectacle of the J18 was used to create repressive police structures. Yet on the other, it went on to inspire a series of further protests and gave rise to the growing global justice movement.

The visibility of the J18 then could be used by both police and direct action protesters for different aims. As the helicopter operator was told by the control room: "We need to make sure people are aware of just how strong this attack is so that they can get reinforcements in." The 'strength' of the J18 'attack' on the City was used to develop the containment procedure known as the kettle, gain greater public order funding and the create the cross London policing operation Benbow. All of these would be used to counter direct action protest. Conversely in drawing visibility to the 'strength' of the City as a nexus of global finance, J18 activists also gained reinforcements in the growing global justice movement. However with corporate media outlets working with state services, alternative communication networks seemed crucial to this cause. As outlined in the next chapter J18 media activists also attempted to use new technologies to develop this network and find lines of flight out of traditional forms of communication.

Chapter 4 - The first protest livestream and decentralised media

As we saw in the last chapter the growing alter globalisation movement was in part challenged through an extended surveillance structure which included a number of news outlets. The framing of images in relation to a dominant-hegemonic position aided the hunting of J18 activists. As such the hegemonic understanding of the J18 seemed to be a contentious point of struggle. In this chapter I show how the J18 media team were already preparing communication technology in an attempt to challenge these prevailing narratives. As such in relation to surveillance and counter-surveillance the tools of communication were being fought over. This struggle highlighted the economic capacity needed to materially distribute information. With limited finance the J18 media team developed innovative ways to disseminate information online creating a common of freely available information. This deterritorised set ways of reporting in the news industry. However, as a line of flight out of the organising structure of the news industry, it also could be reterritorised in new ways.

On May 5 1998 the MPS produced a report on RTS stating their concerns around counter surveillance tactics used by this group.¹²² These were perceived to restrict the ability for police to enclose on protesters. Detective Sergeant Mark Sully of the Met's Public Order Intelligence Unit prepared the confidential report¹²³ with 'Assistance from Metropolitan Police Special Branch' (Sully 1998:2). Sully had policed the No M11 campaign (Indymedia 2007) and previous RTS events as well as raiding homes of participants (Nott FIN 1997). His report stated that the counter surveillance measures used by RTS, could lead to civil action against the police or disrupt 'public' opinion of the force. In particular the report stressed the legal expertise of the group and its evidence gathering capabilities. The report stated the following as one of the "points to note when planning a police response to RTS activity" (1998:13):

¹²² This was done under two weeks before the first 1998 PGA global day of action

¹²³ This report was released with documentation from the Austin case.

The organisers have good knowledge of the law and their 'rights'. If there is a confrontation with the police, such as an arrest, it is closely monitored by legal stewards, who are quick to spot any police default. They have also had solicitors present who will challenge senior officers about the way they are policing and [sic] event and the legality of the tactics used. Such an event is also likely to be video-recorded by one of the several recording units dedicated to filming protest actions. Any default is likely to result in civil action taken against police service. (1998:13-14)

Here the counter monitoring by legal observers and video activists is crucially seen as gathering evidence against the force. As such these are highlighted as acts which might lead to legal difficulties for the police. Equally the observation and questioning of police tactics by solicitors is presented in a way that infers the overall policing strategy will be under scrutiny by individuals on location. The assumption is that the legal framework of protest policing will fall under heightened observation by counter surveillance tactics. While the police may have found this challenging at times, as Ullrich and Wollinger (2011:24) assert counter surveillance has to content with an "asymmetry of power" especially in relations to the judicial system. We might see in Sully's report the fear that these relations could in part be undermined, thereby challenging hegemonic dominance. This fear continued into RTS's use of public communications. As the report states:

From a media point of view they [RTS] will try to exploit any situation for their own ends, and on the whole are much better at this than us. Police are in a no win situation when dealing with this group as we are dammed [sic] if we act against them and dammed [sic] if we do not. (1998:15)

The report positions a counter surveillance which can be publicised through the 'media' as a threat to the police force – leading to a 'no win' situation for them. As such the framing of events can be seen as of crucial importance to MPS. For example a number of news outlets highly criticised the 1997 'Never Mind the Ballots' RTS street party in Trafalgar Square that supported the Liverpool Dock workers and questioned the politics that limit their democratic engagement to electioneering. In doing this, the papers used police as the main source of information allowing MPS to direct the framing of events. "Police defend Downing Street against militant road protesters" (1997:1) the front page of *The Sunday*

Times declared. The paper placed RTS as the main agitators in the conflict with police that ensued (1997:26)¹²⁴. In contrast RTS denied responsibility for the violence at Downing Street (Muir and Midley 1997:2). Yet the public statements by police¹²⁵ accepted by news outlets created a backlash against RTS and further criminalised the protest group as a hostile and violent force. As Sully's report noted this disrupted RTS activities planned for the next day and supposedly lead to them banning all journalists from attending their workshops (1998:10).¹²⁶

As if in playful anticipation of this backlash RTS produced 20,000 copies of their own mock newspaper for the 1997 'Never Mind the Ballots' event entitled *Evading Standards* – a subversion of the capital's daily paper the *Evening Standard* (Ferrell 2001:135). Before 10,000 of these could be given out to rush hour commuters the then Sergeant Mark Sully impounded the papers and pre-emptively arrested three RTS organisers (O'Conner 1997:29).¹²⁷ In one way this depleted the protesters source of a key prop for their situationist inspired, performative protest at the street party. However it also halted the RTS's ability to deliver their message to commuters through the *Evading Standards* paper. This alternative means of communication aimed to provide people outside of the protest with information on its rationale. In stopping this from being circulated the MPS halted the ability for RTS to distribute their message that could counter established frames presented in a number of other news outlets.

In the lead up to the J18, organisers produced a second edition of *Evading Standards*. It's front page displayed the headline: "Global Market Meltdown: Panic stalks Square Mile following dramatic collapse of world financial markets."

¹²⁴ The paper stated: "Yesterday's march was taken over by the Reclaim the Streets group" (Chittenden and Haynes 1997:26) and that "[t]he militants were eventually beaten back by police" (1997:1)

¹²⁵ As published in the Daily Telegraph "police indicated that Reclaim the Streets, a 'direct action' protest group was responsible for battles." (Muir and Midley 1997:1)

¹²⁶ Privately in Sully's confidential report he admits: "The people attracted to these [RTS] events are drawn from many strands of society and are mostly genuine in their desire to resist 'car culture' or protest about a perceived wrong doing by Non-Violent Direction [sic] Action." (1998:14)

¹²⁷ As O'Connor also states as well as being charged with incitement to cause highway obstruction and affray these RTS organizers were later charged with breach of copyright. This was because they had used parts of the Metropolitan Police logo in a mock advert which altered it to 'Multinational Police' (1997:29)

(Evading Standards 1999:1) Satirising the worst fears of financiers, the paper attempted to whip the spectacular mask away from the sanitized version of the City showing the insecurities it rested upon. Within the paper on page 8 it also critiqued the news industry stating: “The press, which is often presented as a counter balance to the power of government and big business, is in fact a business itself” (Evading Standards 1999:8). In highlighting this fact the writers attempted to question the class loyalties of newspaper owners and interrogate their supposed objectivity. In relation to the J18 they stated: “when reading the paper on June 19th or any other day, keep in mind the common wisdom and don’t believe all you read in it: look critically at the ‘facts’ presented, consider whose interests they serve” (ibid) This awareness of the negative way in which their protest would be presented drove activists to look for alternative forms of communication.

While printed forms could be used both performatively and as tools to deliver information, there were material limits to their circulation. The handing out of 30,000 copies of *Evading Standard* (PGA 1999:n.p) paled in comparison to the 443,185 circulation¹²⁸ of the *Evening Standard*. Among some of the organisers there was a fear that information about the protest would be limited to the largely hostile news outlets unless alternative forms of communication could be found (Days of Dissent 2004:n.p). These took shape in the developing possibilities that the internet provided.

As the protest itself was an international event the world wide web provided the potential to circulate the J18 message globally without the larger financial investment previously needed. The internet had been used in part to advertise the event already (Do or Die 1999:10). As part of the J18 Media Team activists from alternative magazines such as Squall and Schnews worked with video and web activists to develop the framework and content for the J18.org (Notes from Nowhere 2003:231). The J18 Media Team would use web technology to widen the reach of their message, showcase its global scale and bypass the traditional

¹²⁸ This figure was gained from Campaign (2009) and is an estimate of their circulation as of July 2000.

press. Video taken at the media relay point for the J18 shows an unidentified member of the Media Team explaining the set up:

“We are doing our own media for June the 18th to avoid having to rely on corporate media. Basically we are updating the website. You get people behind you who are getting [audio] reports and emails from all over the world and converting them to text to be on the website. Then on the other side you have people doing HTML changing it and putting pictures [up live]. This computer is sending video streaming to the net.”¹²⁹

In collectively utilising this relatively new form of communication one might posit that a commons was being opened up which attempted to deterritorialise corporate media formations. These J18 media activists were the “new commoners” (2003:56), or “cyber” commoners (2003:59) that Dorothy Kidd wrote about as developing the Independent Media Centres in and after Seattle.¹³⁰ As Indymedia.org.uk states: “The global anti-capitalism protests on June 18th 1999 saw the first co-ordinated attempt by DIY media groups to provide rapid reporting of large scale events both in London and across the globe” (IMC UK 2003b:n.p). While a number of J18 organisers saw a global and economic digital divide in terms of the use of technology (PGA 1999:n.p), the internet was also seen to open up a new and freer space of communications. This media centre gave the J18 media team an infrastructure which meant they could control the dissemination of their message through images, text, audio and video. In this way it gave J18 protesters a voice for their activities breaking the established narrative from the traditional news outlets and the police.

The space which hosted the website and infrastructure for video streaming was just over the river from the City on Clink Street. In the year running up to June 18 1999 it was identified as a key spot. In between London Bridge and Southwark Bridge, it was almost directly opposite the LIFFE building which was stormed by the J18 activists. The site was called bckspc and was founded by J in 1996-1997. In our interview J describes it as a “sort of proto cyber café which tried to

¹²⁹ video courtesy of the MayDay Rooms

¹³⁰ Although Kidd does not mention the J18 in her 2003 chapter the infrastructure from the J18 and a number of media activists did go on to develop the Independent Media Centres.

accommodate the interests of its users.”¹³¹ The space worked through monthly users subscriptions which covered the cost of the rent and would allow participants access to the internet connection and share a key to the building.¹³² These technologists were in their own way attempting to create a common space where the development of new technological advances could be explored. As J recounts:

“We were up to all sorts of stuff, playing with web tech, hosting servers ourselves, trying out streaming media all sorts of different things it was a real hodge-podge and I think we had about a hundred members who would subscribe on and off over the course of the years.”¹³³

Bckspc was a venue for hacking items, adapting them for an alternative need.¹³⁴ On the day J provided the computers, and the devices were brought in by the J18 media team. As he states: “we didn’t really have that term [Independent Media Centre] at the time but it was the Carnival Against Capitalism relay point... where media was arriving and being processed. I was on hand to make sure they had what they needed but they were pretty much self sufficient.”¹³⁵ Once set up the J18 media team were reliant on the physical location of bckspc as one which allowed an internet connection in close proximity to the protest. As such it was important that the physical space on Clink Street was protected. For a precautionary measure the media team had a camera connected to their computer system and ready to be relayed as a live stream in the event that bckspc came under physical attack. As one of the media team highlighted at the time:

“We were given this camera here in case the police try to shut down the place we are going to point the camera to the police and if they want to

¹³¹ interview with the author

¹³² Interestingly this mirrored the payment system at Undercurrents

¹³³ interview with the author

¹³⁴ This was also reflected in the technologies developed for the J18 protest. For example the J18 media team created a mobile radio station out of different hacked technologies. In a video taken on the day of the protest one of the media team described how they repurposed a mobile phone hands free set so that it could plug into a mixer. Live interviews could then be done offsite from a mobile phone which would call into a hacked phone at the radio station. This could then be streamed directly onto the web in real time and relayed onto pirate radio. As they said: “So we can go anywhere with this thing and stream audio and live interviews and do web radio from anywhere with an internet connection.”

¹³⁵ Interview with the author

evict us from here – for doing our own media – we are basically going to put it live on the internet... the eviction ... we are going to stream it. We'll keep a camera [here...] to see how police might treat free media"¹³⁶

Although this particular live stream set up was never used, we could position its construction as a means of protecting this 'free media' commons through leveraging an extended visibility. We might see this as what Tina Askanius describes as witness video which highlights, "specific unjust conditions or political wrong-doings" (2013:6). As such this form of counter-surveillance bares similarities to cop-watching which, as Mary Angela Bock describes it, is the planned and organised videoing of police as they use unwarranted force (2016:2). As Bock states: "At first, cop-watching seems all about the image, but the power of camera-bodies to *prevent* scenes worth filming turns out to be just as important" (2016:18) In this way she argues that these cameras are used as an attempt to avert police brutality as much or even more than to record its occurrence. The camera itself then is seen to have a disciplinary effect on police due to its relationship to visibility. As such the live stream might act as a further deterrent as it collapses time between the profilmic moment and the recorded presentation. As one appears in front of the camera they can be observed by those watching creating what Sam Gregory calls "immersive witnessing" (2015:1383). Yet this disciplinary effect would require one to question their actions in regards to how visibility might effect them or their institution. This might be interpreted as being wrapped up in how we visualise or imagine others to visualise; and Mirzoeff notion of *visuality*. In this way we might question who is able to give *visuality* its "aura of authority" (2011:479)?

The First Protest Livestream

The livestream that did occur that day was used as form of instant video distribution which attempted to resituate the J18 protest on the activists own terms rather than how they might be presented by a press that was considered hostile. This was particularly important to video activists. As Stuart Hall asserts, dominant hegemonic understanding exists because the ruling classes are

¹³⁶ interview with the author

generally successful in “framing all competing definitions within their range, bringing all alternatives within their horizon of thought” (Hall 1977:333). If this horizon of thought was in part set by established media outlets then distributing ideas on alternative platforms might allow a further generative ability for these opposing viewpoints. As such the video livestream might create a potential to provide an instant account of the protest which could break out of a conventional frames. BZ from Undercurrents was part of the media team who worked on planning the video livestream. He helped organise the video activists on the ground and thought through how to get tapes out of the City before the police could confiscate them. As BZ states:

“So we pulled together all the video activists we’d been working with. [We told them] there was going to be this massive protest, which was going to shut down the City of London. Loads of different groups, thousands of people coming from all different areas, and we wanted it all documented.”¹³⁷

DW – was one of the video activists who had worked with Undercurrents on previous actions. He states:

“I turned up at the meeting. There were probably 10 or 12 people. The idea was that they were going to try out something that was brand new at the time – internet streaming. So we have all the tapes and we are going to stream them online. We would be designated to different areas [of the City to film] then we would have couriers come and take our tapes off of us.”¹³⁸

As J states:

“cycle couriers very nimbly continued with their work between all of the protests and the actions and the police. [The] filmmakers would have had great difficulty getting their tapes out for circulation because going in and out of that place [the City] except perhaps by bike, was very difficult.”¹³⁹

¹³⁷ interview with the author

¹³⁸ interview with the author

¹³⁹ interview with the author

Bckspc had a steady stream of video cassettes arriving from the J18 across the river. The teams of cycle couriers employed to take tape cassettes from video activists and bring them to Clink street for streaming did so throughout the day without any major upset. J from bckspc explains the procedure on the day: "video tapes arrived via courier. They were then logged and then they were taken to an edit space where they could be run through the rig and added into the stream. There was a rudimentary vision mixer."¹⁴⁰

Here a live stream was created which used both analogue and digital technology. The transfer of video required the video cassette tape to go from video activists to cycle courier, from cycle courier to the media team and finally to the rig which digitised it onto the internet stream. Video documentation taken at bckspc at the time shows another unidentified media team activist discussing how the videos were streamed online. He states:

"we haven't really had anytime to edit it. Its just been flinging it on the player and mixing it on this set up which is what Coldcut use for live shows [...] a lot of the footage we've played fairly straight because we just wanted to let people see what was happening [...] it's the first time we've done anything quite like this."¹⁴¹

Video activist JL states this freedom to produce an alternative broadcast narrative meant giving voice to J18 activists. As such we might see this in line with how Thoburn describes contemporary livestreams as transmitting the "urgency of the demonstrations, giving voice to the affective dimensions of protest" (2017:434). For example at the height of the J18 action when a female activist was run over by a police van, one of the witnesses ran over to JL. As JL recounts: "He actually asked me. He actually said: Can I say something? Can I tell my story? Can I tell you what just happened?"¹⁴² As BZ stated: "Our cameras need[ed] to be with the people who are on the barricades. Because that's where the action is and that's where the stories should be told." Here there was an attempt to move the view point away from the police line and embed it inside the protest showing what the

¹⁴⁰ interview with the author

¹⁴¹ video courtesy of the MayDay Rooms (CAC1999 AMP BDA)

¹⁴² interview with the author

J18 activists were doing and highlighting the police use of force. Others who were recording the event felt that this break with traditional framing meant they should specifically focus protest in relation to its aims – as a non violent direct action which transformed the City. As video activist DW states:

“My thought was to cover the peaceful side because the media will go for the violence. I started in Liverpool street and everybody was lively and it was a carnival atmosphere. Surely our responsibility is to say lets give the voice to the people who are there for peaceful reasons, which will clearly be the majority. So I shot hours of stuff just going around talking to people.”¹⁴³

Here this visibility highlighted the Non-Violent Direct Action tactics that the J18 used. Protests against key business and institutions in the City throughout the day such as Lockheed Martin, British Petroleum, the Bank of England, Reed Employment, McDonalds and Friends Provident highlighted the destruction these organisations had cause nationally and internationally. Centring on them within the City also drew attention to this site as a key point in the movement of money and power as did the invasion of the LIFFE building. Highlighting the creativity of the protest and the impassioned warmth of carnival could be pitted against the stiff exterior of the City. Documenting this to show to a wider audience advanced a radical negation of the status quo. It hoped to produce a counter to an established visuality and set horizons of thought. In my interview BZ from Undercurrents conducted nearly twenty years after the J18 one can still hear the enthusiasm in his voice: “And it went really well. We filmed everything. It was fantastic. Because that was video on the internet, I think I was quite excited by it. We had so much kit and computers. It really felt like it was... I don’t know... the Matrix. It was just superb.”¹⁴⁴ Yet the ideals of mass distribution did not always live up to the material reality. As BZ from Undercurrents explains when he asked how many people were able to view the video live:

“And I said what are we up to? And he said ah yeah we got about 20 now. And I’m going fuck 20,000 people that’s brilliant. And he goes, oh no 20

¹⁴³ interview with the author

¹⁴⁴ interview with the author

people. And I'm just going what do you mean 20 people. And he goes oh yeah that's all the servers can handle – 20 people. And I was like, ok... fuck.”¹⁴⁵

The capacity to view this live feed from the J18.org site was limited to double figures. Although the videos cassettes were safely delivered to the streaming location, there was a blockage of distribution flow. Only a limited amount of people could view the feed at a time. As J from bckspc states:

“We'd been playing with realmedia which was the system at the time, to relay video feeds. Everyone was extremely shy of spending any money, specifically on licenses for obviously a proprietary system so we were very often using 25 and 50 person licenses... stream licenses. And on the day I think we certainly only started out with a very modest one which obviously wasn't enough. And we spent quite a bit of time during the day trying to patch in other relays. We definitely were super saturated. 25 streams [snaps his fingers] it was red lining from the start. And it was very hard for people to get a connection I think, there after.”¹⁴⁶

Although text, images and audio on the J18 website were more easily able to reach a large audience, due to the technicalities of livestreaming and the large file size of video, broadcasting moving images was more problematic. To stream video more widely further infrastructural investment was needed whether that be stream licences or a faster connection. The seemingly immaterial promise of the internet met with quite a cold hard economic reality. This challenged notion of the internet as place of free and equal co-creation and participation; a space of utopian transgressional freedoms (as seen by Turkle 1984; Haraway 1991; Bruckman 1993; Rheingold 1993). In this way it highlights the importance of understanding the digital as a material process. As computer scientist Blanchette states: “however immaterial it might appear [digital] information cannot exist outside of given instantiations in material forms.” (Blanchette 2011:1042)

In Blanchette's article *A Material History of Bits*, he shows how the view of the digital as immaterial is highly problematic. The argument he counters is summed up by Negroponte's claim that we have gone “from atom to bits” (Negroponte

¹⁴⁵ interview with the author

¹⁴⁶ interview with the author

1996:4 cited in Blanchette 2011:1042). Negroponte proclaims the freedoms from material matter the digital gives us – that the matter of the atom has been overtaken by the immaterial electronic bit. Yet Blanchette questions the very premise of this argument. His query is simple: “If bits are not made of atoms, what could they possibly be made of?” (Blanchette 2010:1042) Put another way, just because a file can be moved between devices instantly, does it make it free from the material structures which surround it? As such Blanchette argues, bits “cannot escape the material constraints of the physical devices that manipulate, store and exchange them.” (Blanchette 2011:1042) Even within the digital, materiality matters. This problematizes ideas of the internet as a level playing field for communication espoused by those such as Kidd (2003). For BZ from Undercurrents this was particularly difficult. “I was completely disillusioned by it. I went from one end to the other within that week. The amount of work that was involved to get all these tapes back and co-ordinate it to get it back to this place. And I had no idea. I was so blind to it.”¹⁴⁷

This blindness was very much to the infrastructural technological issues which made video streaming a deeply complex, expensive and time consuming activity. However the technology of the video livestream had been shown to work. It was only its distribution which became an issue at a material level. As such this video livestream could be extended if it connected to further infrastructure. A member of the media team described how an infrastructural partnership took place on the evening of the protest:

“The site has been run to capacity all the time which is great. Unfortunately we’d like to have more capacity, which [in part] involves having a faster internet connection which involves money or blagging one and we’re kind of working on that. But we met some people today and got what’s called a mirror set up so we can reflect. Our stream can then go to other servers which can go to other servers.”¹⁴⁸

Ironically one of the main websites that mirrored the video feed was that of the *Financial Times*, displaying the footage live on its home page (Dodson 1999:n.p;

¹⁴⁷ interview with the author

¹⁴⁸ video courtesy of the MayDay Rooms

IMC UK 2003b:n.p). Here was the corporate media helping to extend the distribution of a video stream which sought to separate itself from the very news outlet that ended up aiding it. The next day the FT would lead with the headline “Anti-capitalists lay siege to the City” claiming protesters were “united in their hatred of capitalism, which they claim is destroying the environment and forcing millions into poverty” (Sanghera, Peel and Burns 1999:1). On page 9 the paper would state the protest left a “bitter taste” as “the event billed as the ‘Carnival against Capital’ had turned into a much less savoury occasion” (1999:9) It could hardly be said that the *Financial Times* supported the aims of the protest. Why then did they display its footage?

We might situate this as the first stage in the formal subsumption of the protest livestream. Once observed, this video livestream could be seen as a line of flight out of existing news structures as it showed the potential for a new way of distributing the news. It deterritorialised the live audio/visual news broadcast, traditionally the realm of television, and brought it into the unregulated sphere of the internet. As such it showed that new exciting multimedia tools could be developed and used by news organisations on the internet. In doing so it highlighted possibilities for new alignments. In one way these possibilities started from technical structures and moved to the socio-economic configurations. Via the fast movement of the cassette, the camera could connect to the internet showing moving images of a protest occurring at that moment. This could draw an audience to an online platform providing opportunities for institutions like the *Financial Times* to discover how to make economic use of this attention. Yet in another way these new alignments started from the social and moved towards the technical. They showed a freely available treasure trove existed of unpaid labour that could provide rich media content from extraordinary events.

Marx wrote that in its historic origins capital would “subsume under itself [...] the specific actual labour processes as it finds them available in the existing technology, and in the form in which they have developed on the basis of non-capitalist relations of production” (Marx and Engels 2010a:92). In examining the first protest livestream we might also see a non-capitalist labour process that was

teetering on becoming subsumed under capital. This 'particular labour process' was one in which trained video technicians would freely transmit live audio/visual content. In publishing this video feed on their website the FT made use of a common free to use resource for the benefit of its own news service. In Marx's terms the FT only "subsumes it *formally*, without making any changes in its specific technological character" (ibid). As such the FT extends the reach of this video live stream because this item provides them with free access to videographers' labour of a major event. According to Marx it is only in real subsumption that this labour form is shaped in a particular way (ibid).

Marx understood the formal subsumption of labour as labour power working for the capitalist but not yet shaped by them. To what extent then were these video activists now working for the FT in providing them with content? Jodi Dean in her early work on communicative capital states: "the exchange value of messages overtakes their use value [...] the message is simply part of a circulating data stream. Its particular content is irrelevant." (2008:107) Seen in Dean's terms these video messages provided by those working to deliver the livestream filled a vacancy in message exchange. This video becomes visually illustrative of the protest, regardless of its message, and as such fits the circulating stream of information which the FT needed to show a quality service. In this way those who laboured to create this service – the videographers, the couriers, the technologists – could be seen as delivering gratis work for the FT. In this instance they become what Christian Fuchs calls "the common labor class" (2010:193) who deliver a commons for capital to exploit.

We might consider this first step towards the formal subsumption of the live stream as one also linked to surveillance. While this video live stream was observed and extended by the FT, Indymedia UK explain that the J18 media were contacted by numerous news organisation on the day of the protest. "The reaction from corporate media was one of astonishment, with networks like CNN contacting the London Media Centre to ask just how it had all been achieved!" (IMC UK 2003b:n.p) The J18 media team had impressed existing news organisations through this creation of this organisationally and technologically

advanced common, free to use resource. However CNN, like the FT, is a profitmaking organisation. In its curiosity this news network could be positioned as wanting to gain an understanding of how to exploit the J18 media teams practice. In observing deterritorialised forms CNN hoped to reterritorialise them either through packaging them as a 'story' or utilising the media teams practice for their own aims.

Conversely we might also position the FT as 'working'¹⁴⁹ for the J18 media team. Dean herself poses a reason to disagree with her premise. She posits that the internet also provides a vital space for "alternative politics" to deliver "mass mobilizations" and an "independent media source" (2008:119). In using the FT to extend their reach the J18 team might be considered to be leveraging this established outlet for political aims. Without access to greater finance the J18 media team were able to utilise the resources of a commercial news organisation to deliver their own content. While Dean considers the main political impact of these communicative pathways to be one of repression and exploitation, she leaves open the possibility for other political opportunities (ibid)¹⁵⁰. As Fuchs argues this is a struggle for the common in which subsumption and its resistance are constantly in conflict (2018:459).

Hardt and Negri argue that it is in examining formal subsumption we see the resistant forms that became encased in capital illuminated (2017:182). Highlighting the non-capitalist origins of subsumed labour practices might showcase possibility of an emancipatory reappropriation (2017:205-6). As such they see in capitalism the "creation of a system of institutions predisposed to the struggle against 'subsumed' labour" (2017:181) Yet, while resistant forces struggle against capital subsumption of a commons, they are also in conflict with a state that has developed what Aziz Choudry calls a "deradicalisation-industrial complex" (2019:16). These forces of deradicalisation combine both state and

¹⁴⁹ Here I am using 'working' in its broadest possible meaning, not as in the congealing of abstract labour into a commodity

¹⁵⁰ Though Dean does question the ability for this technology to lead to more durable "political solidarities" (2008:119). However both Dean (2014) and Fuchs (2010) see these online spaces as having potential develop class oriented political demands due to the nature of online exploitation.

corporate power to suppress political resistance to capitalism (2019:16-17). In doing this, they also subsume tactics from protesters. As della Porta and Tarrow argue activists have to contend with “mechanism of competitive adaptations of police performances to protest innovations.” (2012:144).

Just as corporate news outlets were observing and reproducing the J18 media team’s tactics for using the internet so were the police. As seen in chapter 3 after the J18, the City of London Police for the first time used their internet webpage in order to showcase images of the suspects on October 4th 1999 as part of this operation (Rose 1999a:27). The City of London Police created what they termed a “photo gallery of suspects” (1999:n.p) connected to the main City of London webpage. At the time Detective Inspector Sharp stated: “Rather than having to rely upon the media to publish them, we are now able to have direct access into thousands of offices and homes throughout the country and appeal for assistance directly to members of the public” (1999:7). This idea adapted a Home Office initiative of printing and publically displaying ‘rogue galleries’ of undesirables.¹⁵¹ Clearly in its usage in the City it relied on the publicity it garnered by specific news outlets in order to frame its purpose (see Chapter 3). However this more horizontal area of online communications became noticed as a tool which could further incorporate the public in line with the police.

As a humorous counter measure the J18 media team put up a spoof ‘City of London Police (not)’ website with photos of what they called “a sinister shadowy organisation calling itself ‘The Capitalists’”¹⁵² With pictures of those including Mark Moody-Stuart the Shell Group Chairman and Michael Camdessus the IMF managing director the fake site states: “If you have any information on any of these people photographed in connection with the June 18 incidents in the City of London, please contact the City of London Police or Crimestoppers. Your call will be treated in confidence, honest.” In this way through alternative media humorous counter surveillance measures were attempting to wrestle back the narrative, undermining police surveillance structures which attempted to utilise

¹⁵¹ This was publicised by Daily Mail Crime Correspondent Rose in August 1999

¹⁵² <http://bak.spc.org/j18/site/rogues.htm>

'public' and traditional media outlets. Here we might see the return of what Tancons described as a Bakhtinist subversive carnivalesque humour (2011:298) attempting to deterritorialise these surveillance efforts through dryly showing up the absurdity of the spectacle. It also shows the continual battle over subsumption is not limited only to resistant forces and corporations, but also between protesters and police. Della Porta and Tarrow call this an "interactive diffusion of protesters' and police repertoires" (2012:143) However, while repertoires might cross over between police and protesters, corporations and activists, they do so with extremely different relations to and of power.

The Rise and Fall of IMC

IMC UK wrote of the J18: "The day became a landmark for the emerging global protest movement due to the audacity of the action, but also due to the use of technology that allowed simultaneous, real time reports of events all over the world on a common website." (2003a:232)¹⁵³ For the November 1999 Seattle protest the J18.org website was combined with software created by Sydney Active and Community Activist Technology (Champion 2000). This allowed individual groups or people to upload information to a calendar, events and news listings. Essentially this automated some of the processes going through the London site creating an Independent Media Centre with a hub and automated space for user uploading. Because of this user interface Lina Dencik et al (2016:4) have argued that Indymedia could be seen as the first social network.

These Independent Media Centres worked to support the Global Justice Movement and other activist groups. For example at the turn of the century IMCs were often set up in cities like Prague, Washington DC and Quebec City where protests were taking place against the World Bank, the G8 or the IMF (Pickard 2006:20). Often these provided opportunities for virtual dissemination of information as well as a physical place for media activists to convene (Juris 2005:194). Global Justice activist David Graeber describes how IMCs provided a good introduction space for arriving protestors. "The IMC is a pretty standard

¹⁵³ Downey and Fenton argues the livestream from the City of London at the J18 was an important point of inspiration for the first IMCs (2003:197)

first stop when you come to a new city because the place is almost never empty, and full of information.” At its height Indymedia was estimated to have between 100,000 and 150,000 (Wolfson 2013:415) volunteers working over six different continents to support its network (Pickard 2006:20).

What had started as a series of Independent Media Centres quite closely linked to Global Justice international days of action (McDonald 2015:971), gradually turned into a series of connected but relatively autonomous national, regional and sometimes city based alternative news outlets. The open source code made replication of Indymedia website framework relatively easy (Pickard 2006:20). From 60 Indymedia ‘kollektives’ in 2001 (Sullivan et al 2011:708) by 2006 the network consisted of 150 localised sites in 50 different countries (Pickard 2006:20). Although Indymedia’s work continued and grew, its original focus widened and became more dispersed. Much of the work global justice activists dove tailed and merged internationally into the anti-Iraq war movement (Juris 2005:195). In the UK, Indymedia covered a wide range of activity extremely successfully including the anti Iraq war protests in 2003, the G8 protests in Gleneagles in 2005 and the Climate Camp actions from 2006 onwards.

Both Todd Wolfson (2013; 2014) and Christopher Anderson (2012) chart how the Indymedia framework paved the way for a series of branded platforms predicated on users sharing information about their experiences and beliefs also known as citizen journalism. While Web 2.0 was gestating Indymedia was a ‘go to’ source for alternative news. Independent Media Centres had pioneered the use of user generated content, allowing individuals to easily upload a variety of media (Harcups:2014a:n.p.). This Open Source published technique was developed by the alternative media long before established corporations recognised the value of these kinds of platforms (Harcups:2014b:n.p.). In this way non hierarchical citizen based news journalism had found a commons outside of corporate ownership. Sebastian Kubitschko (2018:631) claims this was an attempt to ‘act on the media’ rather than focus on ‘acting with the media’. These initiatives, which worked from the bottom up, created their own media infrastructures rather than primarily focusing on existing and established routes of

communication (2018:632). However, at the same time the ability to deliver web video online had taken a lot of resources out of the activist community. BZ saw this relationship to the internet as a distraction from video activists: “We put so many resources in terms of people in the 2000s all around the internet. Probably the majority of people involved in Undercurrents then were getting wrapped up in this whole video on the internet. But I think it lost [us] a lot of momentum.”¹⁵⁴

For BZ it was the doing of video activism that motivated him, not necessarily the digital distribution networks. Interestingly, for BZ, it was at the live screening of the J18 video that had the most impact for him. As BZ recounts: “It was more powerful going to screenings. Just seeing people and being re-empowered. It felt like a revolution. There were screenings all over the country.”¹⁵⁵ For BZ this analogue distribution route provided a much more fulfilling and tangible effect than what was achieved on the day with video via the web. Although video mediated the protest it also brought people back together again at the screenings.

Video screenings were not just about the passive viewing of an event but also a motivating force to continue action and bring people together. This re-viewing of events provided a re-empowerment for those who had taken part. This was highly contrasted with the material complication attached to internet video at the J18. He further notes: “In 1999, who had broadband? Who could watch it? And you’re watching a kind of postage stamp really. It really sort of crushed me then. I just thought fuck we’re years away. We’re years away from video on the web being an actual usable tool here.”¹⁵⁶ This did not stop him nor Undercurrents from continuing to explore live feed video via the internet. It seemed to hold the promise of a world wide connection which could be controlled by activists. After years spent working on platforms to host video with easy to use interfaces, some felt their work was undermined by YouTube’s launch in early 2005. BZ goes on to state:

¹⁵⁴ interview with the author

¹⁵⁵ *ibid*

¹⁵⁶ *ibid*

“suddenly you had YouTube kicking off and there was a platform there for videos. And you’re thinking well ‘why aren’t we using that?’ And people go ah well its capitalist. Its this, that and the other. So better have our own servers and you’re thinking well yeah but fuck that's very expensive. Its like if we ran back to 1993 and we said yeah lets become video activists. Ok lets invent a camcorder. You’re thinking great, ok. But you just spend all the time in the office fiddling”¹⁵⁷

This was often a point of contention between Indymedia activists and protesters who used these proprietary sites. As outlined by Julie Uldam (2016) Indymedia activists often took a negative view of the corporate online social networks that developed through the 00s. Uldam quotes one Indymedia programmer in 2008 as saying: “It’s like holding all your political meetings at McDonalds and ensuring that the police come and film you while you do so.” (2016:210). In an extended post online this same Indymedia programmer furthers his point. Discussing the future of Indymedia in 2008 he framed this as the “enclosure of the internet” stating:

“I think that we are in bad shape when compared with the predominantly corporate-owned sites that political organizers are often turning to. People are generally not putting their videos on Indymedia anymore - those go onto Youtube. Photos are going into Flickr. There has been an explosion of good political content being published on the net, but it's not happening on our sites” (Worker 2008)¹⁵⁸

Issues brought to the fore in the J18 livestream might be seen to have intensified in the development of Indymedia. Capital began to position itself behind non hierarchical forms of internet sharing and citizen journalism under-riding the ability of these sites to function (Uldam 2016:210) As such we might consider this a movement from formal subsumption towards real subsumption – where a deterritorialised form becomes reterritorialised.

¹⁵⁷ *ibid*

He also stated: “This is a general problem and is much bigger than either Indymedia or left activism, but it's worth thinking about how we can respond to it.”

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the technological innovations developed by activists supporting the J18. These acted as a form of counter surveillance in attempting to dismantle the frames which they believed may delegitimise the protest. Through developing their own forms of public communications activists tried to exit traditional media forms which they believed were subservient to capital and could not adequately hold societal structures to account. As we saw in the previous chapter, many of these news outlets actively facilitated visual surveillance structures which attempted to hunt protesters through mixing surveillance stills and ideological frames.

Although alternative activist led media made huge technological advances in the forms they created, they also hit limitations in their ability to progress without further financial backing or interactions with proprietary forms. The material capacity to live stream video highlights the problems they faced. While the technological capacity to decentralise media via the livestream or Independent Media Centres provided increased access to 'public' communications, it also provided a line of flight out of existing structures which were latched onto by technological entrepreneurs. Proprietary platforms developed formally subsuming decentralised media while entrepreneurs uncovered ways they could derive exchange values in a move towards real subsumption.

In the livestream a commons was created which broke out of established formations. Its intention was to be an anti-capitalist commons, and to communicate an anti-capitalist struggle. While this form of video transmission worked in practice, without greater funds its material capacity was limited. When the Financial Times used their private servers to mirror this it was seen by the J18 media team as a positive intervention for their cause. And in many ways it was. Yet it was also a moment that initialized a process of formal subsumption. The overall method of video distribution was observed so that the social relations behind them could be reabsorbed as a means of supporting the forces and relations of capital. This became part of a business model that developed as a new technical assemblage; a new way to deliver content in a capitalist market that

could enclose upon a developing anti-capitalist commons. In the eyes of the market Indymedia was a competitor emerging from a cooperative and politicised space. As such it attacked both market structures and their ideology. Therefore, its subsumption was not only crucial for market forces needing a new model but also to protect the social relations within a competitive environment. The temporary commons Indymedia helped to create was then subsumed through a form of monitoring and directing. In essence Indymedia had found a use value which once observed was transformed to deliver an exchange value. In understanding this process we can see surveillance not as an agent in and of itself but as a point of connection between a temporary commons and its absorption into capital.

While the City and Met police intensified their enclosure of alter globalisation activists after the surveillant learning on J18, capital subsumed the technology which supported protesters' communications. In Part 3 I show how this contentious struggle continued on the 2009 anti-G20 protests, with activists finding new ways to initiate their protest forms and counter police frames. Equally police used the spectre of the J18 to validate increasingly repressive measures.

Part 3... they lay in wait¹⁵⁹

When my parents moved us to England in 1983 I first learned about surveillant technology. For a short time we stayed in London at a friend's ex-squat. I slept in a room that was used as an office for various political groups. Going to bed the first night I was mesmerised by a telephone that had written on it – “this phone is bugged”. At five years old I kept imagining it having been dipped in bug juice or having bugs crushed all over it. My dad smiled and laughed when I told him and informed me that they had written it on there to remind them that communications could be tampered with. The idea that flows of communications and media networks were prone to surveillance has stayed with me.

¹⁵⁹ It was only towards the end of writing this doctoral study that I remembered this fragment of my past. It came to me like a vision; in bright colours and in blinding clarity. I had to check the story with my mother just to make sure it was not a dream. Like setting a trap and waiting for it to snare, the bug is put in place and lays idle until use. But in the phone it relies on participation by the unaware user. What happens when the user knows they are being bugged or could be bugged? Do they still use the same technology? How can they subvert this type of surveillance? The same questions could be asked in relation to the protest and the kettle. What happens when protest organisers know that they are being observed and that this could lead to the enclosure of their protest? How can this trap be subverted? And when these tactics are tried what is the role of communication technology in emancipation or further domination?

Chapter 5 - The reverse starburst, the swoop and the choreographed twin kettle

In this chapter I compare the ways two anti-G20 protests negotiated police containment procedure through the use of counter surveillance tactics on 1 April 2009. I start with a brief overview of the kettle's development in relation to alter globalisation and anti capitalist direct action protest since the J18. From there I examine the way the G20 Meltdown protest and Climate Camp built counter surveillance strategies into their protest form. There is evidence to suggest protesters were aware they might be kettled at their final location. However the G20 Meltdown's 'reverse starburst' and Climate Camp's 'swoop' attempted to provide means for activists to reach their final location and initiate their protest in the hyper surveilled space of the City. I examine the way the MPS choreographed a twin kettling operation in response to this and finally how protesters were able to fracture the kettles use after the fact.

In chapter 3 I provided evidence to show the displacement of dispersal as the main public order tactic in favour of containment, was in response to the inspection and surveillant learning from the J18. As containment procedures progressed throughout the 2000s these became honed as a tool against the global justice movement (rua Wall 2019:152). On 1st May 2001 the kettle was used to contain an alter globalisation protest in Oxford Circus, London for seven hours (House of Lords 2009:para 3). The MPS took this action as a preventative measure against a supposed risk of violence and damage to property (2009:para 4). They had collected a number of pieces of ephemera suggesting May Day protesters would be basing their movements on the monopoly board game protesting at a number of different sites throughout Oxford Street.¹⁶⁰ Holding them in one place can then be seen as a form of strategic incapacitation which as Gillham defines as "isolating or neutralizing the sources of potentially disruptive protest actions or events" (2011:637). Here protesters are neutralised through having their movement restricted.

Lois Austin had been on the protest on 1st May 2001 and was unable to pick up her child from nursery due to being contained. In 2002, Austin brought a case against the London Metropolitan Police for false imprisonment and deprivation of liberty. In the *Austin v Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis* case (2005), video of the J18 played a part in the dismissal of the case. As Justice Tugendhat stated: "It is obvious from the videos of the three previous English demonstrations [J18, N30 and MD00] that on MD01 there was a real risk of serious injury and even death (as well as damage to property) if the police did not control the crowd." (2005: para 532) Here the video documentation of the J18 continued to present an unfavourable image of the protesters who took part. In doing so video of the J18 also was used to validate police tactics:

"Forced and uncontrolled dispersal of a crowd can, however, be very considerably more intrusive than dispersal controlled by a preliminary detention. The video images from [the J18 in] 1999 [...] show just how much force the police can use to disperse violent and disorderly demonstrators." (2005 para 82)

The police video of the J18 acts to evidence the idea that the dispersal of crowds would be more violent than their containment. The extended kettling of protesters then becomes seen as a better or even more humane option for the police. After the verdict came out Austin's solicitor argued the police saw this as a "test case" and worried that the verdict would give a "green light" to the extended use of containment and detention (Nunns 2005:n.p). Later that year in Edinburgh at over the time of Gleneagles G8 protests, Molyneaux saw many people aggressively "kettled-in" as they tried to take to the streets (2005:112). In response to blockading action by protesters, Rosie and Gorringe witnessed police who had: "dispensed with identification numbers", "corralled protesters and bystanders for several hours without water or toilets" and "acted aggressively towards both protesters and passers-by" (ibid) While Gleneagles saw a resurgence in anti capitalist protest (Hewson 2005:137)¹⁶¹ it would also see further solidification of the kettle.

¹⁶¹ Though as those such as Hudig and Dowling (2005:73) argue the Gleneagles G8 protests also saw the fractious splits in the movement.

If some saw the 2005 Austin case verdict as a 'green light' for police to intensify kettling, Craig (2011:14-16) argued the dismissal of the appeal case on January 28 2009 had a similar effect. While supposedly stringent requirements were put on the use of kettles, Craig argued these were often ignored and in a number of cases increasingly violent tactics were combined with containment tactics (2011:16). For the 1st April 2009 G20 protests the Metropolitan Police led an operation with 5,500 officers known as "Glencoe" using containment as its main tactic. (Joyce and Wain 2011:126-7). The use of force within the extended kettle was seen at both major protests within the city; the G20 Meltdown and Climate Camp in the City.

Metropolitan Police Authority report 6a into policing at the G20 Summit states that operation Benbow was invoked due to the "operational learning from the J18 protests in 1999" (MPA 2009 para 18). According to the report containment was not "predetermined" (2009 para 44) for the entire event. Bronze Commanders were nominated for each event and venue (2009 para 16) and they would make decisions when to implement tactical options (2009 para 17). Senior officers were briefed to be "robust" with the protesters bringing up the 1999 J18 as an example of what can go wrong (Siddique 2011a:n.p).

While the exact tactics to be used by police were unknown to protesters before hand, activists organising the G20 Meltdown and Climate Camp in the City had previous experience of kettling and assumed these might be used. As Marina Pepper, an organiser for the G20 Meltdown stated, "In the early meetings many experienced protesters voiced their concerns that kettling could be problematical" (Shift 2009:18). Similarly those organizing for Climate Camp in the City stated in an indymedia information bulletin to potential protesters: "The police may also attempt to surround people to prevent us from moving (sometimes called a 'kettle')." (Indymedia 2009d:n.p)

As such the G20 Meltdown and Climate Camp protesters needed to find a way of initiating their protests that could be openly communicated to the mass of people they hoped to attract. In order for a mass of people to gather, a meeting point has

to be publically communicated as widely as possible. Yet this public communication ran a high risk of surveillance. The information gathered from this surveillance can then be used to counter the protest before it gets started. Two different strategies tried to find a balance between effective communications and logistics. The G20 Meltdown used what could be called the reverse starburst and Climate Camp used a tactic they termed the swoop.

The Reverse Starburst

The G20 Meltdown was scheduled for 1st April 2009 one of the three listed days of action in response to the summit meeting taking place at ExCel centre in London. In preparation for it Corporate Watch revised a map of the City of London they had produced for the J18 ten years earlier. In the text under the 1st April readers were told for the G20 Meltdown four marches would take place starting from Liverpool street, Cannon Street, London Bridge and Moorgate station. These it stated would begin at 11am and each procession would follow a giant horseman puppet, converging at the Bank of England at 12 noon.

In splitting the crowd into four the organisers hoped they would have more chance of “thrusting” (G20Meltdown 2009:n.p) themselves into their location. Conceptualising the police as protecting the inner territory, these four “carnival parades” (ibid) would start at different tube stations either in the Square Mile or just outside at 11am and be led through the streets dispersing the police’s ability to surveil and oppose the crowd en route. A 10 March planning post on Indymedia highlights how these four “parades” would attempt to “snake their way through the City.” (ibid)

The four strains of the protest hoped to simultaneously push through multiple security cracks in the City. These cracks in security were in part widened by this formation as it led to the dispersal of police along four different routes. The more strains the protest had the more dispersed the police were. The more dispersed the police were the more cracks would appear. As Pepper recounts: “we split the police. Always the plan” (Shift 2009:18). Snaking through the City each of the four

crowd leaders could observe these cracks en route and navigate around them or push through lighter police lines (London Indymedia 2009a:n.p).¹⁶²

Logistically this inverted the dispersal technique used ten years earlier acting as a 'reverse starburst'. At the J18 protesters started at Liverpool street and dispersed in four different directions confusing the surveillance systems in the City. At the G20 meltdown they started in four different locations and congregated at Bank. We might see the starburst at the J18 as an explosion with crowds immediately dispersed in what seemed to be a chaotic fashion, but turned out to be ordered by the use of coloured markers. In contrast, the reverse starburst at the G20 Meltdown might be seen as an implosion, where crowds are drawn from different directions inwards using colour coded parades.

Tactically, though, this eschewed some of the preparatory counter surveillance measures used on the J18 especially concealment of both end point and crowd formation. The effect of which seemed to confound the police surveillance systems in 1999. The G20 Meltdown gave police surveilling public websites confirmation of the beginning and end of the march and therefore the possibility of disrupting the protest at both the start and the finish. However some G20 Meltdown organisers argue they attempted to develop their strategy with kettling at the end point as a possibility. As Pepper states: "As we couldn't rule it [kettling] out, we decided to use it to our advantage." (Shift 2009:18) As such taking over Bank Junction provided a halting of traffic at a key location (ibid). As Pepper states: "If we're going to be kettled, let's get kettled in useful places." (2009:20)

According to Pepper the notion that they may be kettled helped to develop their ideas in advertising the protest at Bank as a street party. However rather than a rave, like at the J18, this would be a street party which took inspiration from the tradition of communal eating in the street. As such she asserts the idea was to "Bring tea, cake, food to share, something to sit on, music etc and enjoy the kettle." (Shift 2009:18) As one Indymedia post stated this was a Banquet at the Bank in which people were told to bring "food, fun and games to share" (London

¹⁶² This is also aided by having simultaneous protests on the same day

Indymedia 2009a:n.p). This protest then attempted to use the tactical carnival and street party as means to disrupt the City.¹⁶³

In this way the 'reverse starburst' attempted to further create a conceptual link between the means of entering their location and the message they brought to the 'banks'. On the G20 Meltdown each crowd was led by a different coloured "Horsefolk" puppet; one green, one red, one silver and one black. A photograph of a diagram entitled 'the plan' was uploaded to Indymedia and outlined with four coloured arrows where each of the crowds would enter Bank Junction. A legend on the side of the diagram shows what each of the colours stood for; red was against 'war', green was against 'climate' change, black was against 'land' exploitation and silver was against 'money'. As well as splitting the crowd based on peoples' most pressing concerns, this tactic also became a way of visually depicting opposition to the ramifications of capitalist power. (London Indymedia 2009:n.p)

The idea was that as each 'horse' was given a political identity each crowd member could chose a horse to represent their demands. Underneath the diagram the text attempts to highlight this distinction between horses, for example it states: "If you want to press the charges for war crimes join the Red horse!" (London Indymedia 2009:n.p) Subsequently each horse is linked to a reason to object to the present system. In selecting their oppositional stance based on a failure of capitalism, the crowd are also logistically separated so as to navigate the city in an attempt to undermine surveillance systems and police containment systems en route. This became a way to include a variety of groups who often focused on a single issue into the formation and link all their objections together forming a wider systematic critique. An anonymous university student occupier writing for the Guardian on 1 April 2009 described the event as "different campaigns physically converging in the square mile." (Rilla 2009:n.p). Here a commons was created via a multitude of concerns.

¹⁶³ Though it was clear that not everyone who organized the G20 Meltdown imagined getting kettled. Chris Knight, one of the organisers, had set up a counter summit elsewhere for after the protest.

Those joining the black horse were asked to do so in memory of the Diggers and their fight for the commons – linking the revolutionary land battles of the past to the present day. Like the J18 the history of the commons was also referenced in the action. Protesters were told “The World Turns Full Circle, The 360th anniversary of the Diggers, English Revolutionaries for the Earth, a 'Common Treasury for All'. Join the Black horse with diggers' spades to celebrate!” (London Indymedia 2009:n.p) In one way this link to the radical origins of the commons attempts to situate these protests as a grand revisioning of societal structures which laminate the status quo. In another way this could bring a further performative element to the parades while at the same time strategically separating the crowd to converge en masse at Bank.

As part of this those joining the parade from London Bridge led by the silver horse were asked to do so in a “zombie block” if they wanted to “Eat the Bankers”. This referenced the Government of the Damned who had been raising awareness of the Meltdown protest performing on the streets in the months leading up to April (see Parkinson 2009).¹⁶⁴ This apocalyptic and zombie aesthetic was a strong element of the relative minority of protesters who dressed up on 1 April. Although others dressed as mermaids,¹⁶⁵ with animal face paint (Fourman Films 2009a) and as pirates, images show the majority of people on the processions and at Bank in regular clothing.

While they did see the carnival as a means of mobilising people (Shift 2009:19) the 2007-8 financial crash was seen by some of the organisers as opening people’s eyes to the reality of the financial system. As Pepper stated: “With the crunch and the bail outs enough people could finally see the bleeding obvious” (ibid) Here they felt deep cracks had been caused in hegemonic understandings through the severity of the economic breakdown. In 1999 the Lord Mayor of London’s argument against the J18 protesters was that: “these people are not

¹⁶⁴ For example on 24 February 2009 the street theatre group went to Oxford Street dressed as zombies in Top Hats and Bowler Hat and announced “April the 1st Financial Fools Day, we the dead and all you beautiful corpses will be having a picnic. We will be at the Bank of England snacking on bankers’ brains.” (Parkinson 2009n.p)

¹⁶⁵ see the Hall’s (2009) live blog for the Telegraph

representative of anyone [...] We are the world's dominant international financial centre and a substantial contributor to the British economy." (Ringshaw, Morrison and Court 1999:5) In 2009 a similar argument could not gain the same amount of traction. Some felt this allowed further questioning of the entire basis for the financial system. As Chris Knight one of the Meltdown organisers said just before the event in a video for the Guardian: "What is going to happen on Wednesday is going to be very significant because we the government of the dead are going to announce the fact that henceforth any bits of paper issued by the bank of England cease to be legal tender." (Domokos and Bennett 2009:n.p)

One might interpret this as a performative way of saying that 'the people' no longer have faith in the banking structure of the country nor the government which supports this fiat currency. This might be seen as calling into question the "financial fetishism" (Soederberg 2010:523) political economist Susanne Soederberg sees global summits like the G20 perpetuating. These summits according to Soederberg act to 'naturalise and depoliticise' the economic response to crisis caused by a systemic failure of capitalism. As such at a time when the banking system was seen to be failing calling attention to these summits with counter narratives was seen as having new promise. Pepper argued that the idea "you don't ask the problem for solutions" was gaining new weight (Shift 2009:19). Deregulating markets from the Thatcher era onwards it seemed were having major consequences. Only six months before the protest the UK government had committed to bailing out the failing financial sector to the tune of £500 billion (Swaine 2008:n.p). As such Pepper argued the G20 protests allowed people to voice their vitriol to these practices. As she states:

"At G20 Meltdown and Climate Camp in the City we enabled thousands of new people to participate in anti-capitalist actions. This wasn't your average summit hopping event, it was a mass of people expressing their need for a better world who don't know yet quite how to express it."(2009:20)

In utilizing the form of the carnival parade and street party Pepper saw this as a means of people expressing their discontent with capitalism. Yet Pepper saw a

failure in the G20 Meltdown to utilize the space at Bank. As she says: “Tactically, we should have spent more time empowering people by telling them what to bring and then organizing once there.” (Shift 2009:18) There was no documented communication informing participants that they might be kettled and a number of those participating had other events to attend that day (Fourman Films 2009b). These included the Stop the War Demo in central London at 2pm and the Alternative G20 Summit at 4pm set up by one of the G20 Meltdown organisers Chris Knight. As such Pepper had concerns about the way in which the kettle was able to disempower protesters who had not been prepared for these police procedures. (2009:20) Trapped inside the kettle, Pepper saw energy dissipate from the protesters, many of whom had no idea that the kettle would occur. She asserts the liveliness that had kept the carnival going to Bank became incapacitated through the kettle. Although people could be guided to the location there was little to do once there. As Pepper states: “I wish we’d had half the artists they had floating round at climate camp.” (2009:18)

The Swoop

On the front of the Squaring Up to the Square Mile map readers were told on 1st April ‘Climate Camp’ would set up at 62 Bishopsgate at 12.30 outside the European Climate Exchange. Attendees were asked to: “Bring a pop-up tent, sleeping bag, wind turbine, mobile cinema, action plans and ideas.” Stemming from 2005 G8 protests in Gleneagles, since 2006 the Climate Camp had been meeting in various locations – setting up annual protest camps against sites of environmental degradation. These included Drax power station in 2006, Heathrow in 2007 and Kingsnorth coal power plant in 2008. Climate Camp acted as both a physical protest camp and an structure for organising nationally and internationally (Frenzel, Feigenbaum and McCurdy 2014:460). To protest against the ‘huge windfall profits’ from finance which came at the expense of ‘the very future of life on earth’ Climate Camp planned to set up camp in the City of London outside the European Climate Exchange for 24 hours (Climate Camp 2009a:n.p).

The targeted site was made clear in advance in printed material like the map and a variety of places online including an article in *The Ecologist* on 16 March 2009.

Under the headline “Climate Camp comes to the City” a spokesman makes explicit the camp’s time, date and location stating: “Gather at 12.30 noon, April 1st, at the European Climate Exchange, Hasilwood House, 62 Bishopsgate, EC2N 4AW” (McDonnell 2009:n.p) Again the tactics on the day took into account the fact that the end location was very likely known by the police. As outlined on the Indymedia website the strategy to initiate the occupation outside the European Climate Exchange was called ‘the swoop’ (London Indymedia 2009b:n.p). This tactic aimed to avoid police surveillance by hiding in the heavily crowded street to enter the City and then at the same moment simultaneously ‘swooping’ in on the targeted site from all different directions. In doing this at the right moment they could instantaneously inundate those who might be observing the targeted area through a movement of people en masse. This enabled protest organisers to gather large numbers of people undetected at a publically advertised location. As they state on Indymedia:

“To be successful, we must all arrive at the Climate Exchange at the same time [...] Its a good idea to meet up with your friends early, and somewhere within easy reach of the Climate Exchange. Then, at the appropriate moment, leave quickly, to arrive at exactly 12:30. You may even want to practice beforehand. Be aware that in light of current over-policing tactics, if you miss the swoop, you may be unable to join the camp.” (ibid)

The tactic of the swoop attempted to provide the ability to get to a known location and initiate it as a site of protest while understanding the communication of this information – and the route itself - might be under heavy surveillance. The ability to camp in the City then from this perspective is contingent on the swoop working smoothly and going to plan. It rests on avoiding the ‘current over-policing’ tactics which they later describe as the ‘kettle’, through decentralising the timed movements of protesters. To do this then the ‘legitimate crowd’ in pedestrian areas are used to disguise the protesters route into the City. In many ways this relies on the utilisation of the heterogeneous subject – one who at times can be seen as a legitimate ‘member of the public’ and at others a ‘protester’¹⁶⁶. To avoid containment via the swoop one must be able to straddle these two roles. Either

¹⁶⁶ Different aspects of personhood however may attract police attentions more than others

that or the attention drawn to you must be defused by an otherwise 'ordinary' public. As OM an activist who attended the protest that day stated:

"I remember just approaching from maybe Hackney or Bethnal Green somewhere around there to Spitalfield's. And you'd be walking down the street in this very diffuse crowd with familiar faces and people who looked the part. But you were spread out and then you drifted towards this point and within a couple of minutes there were pop up tents erected and various bits of apparatus landed [t]here. But it was actually one of the most exciting and dynamic and playful aspects of that protest. It was quite sort of fun and it seemed effective in the moment."¹⁶⁷

Heavily dispersed within the crowd there was little the police could do to stop the protesters amassing at the location bar closing Bishopsgate road themselves. However as the disruption of business as usual was one of the objectives of the protest, if they did close the road the police would be achieving one of the aims of Climate Camp. In utilising the 'legitimate crowd' climate campers were able to swoop into the City forcefully en masse while still maintaining a discreet presence to avoid detection. Yet holding this site would be tricky if police numbers outweighed those of the protesters. As Climate Camp stated on Indymedia: "It's a numbers game – the only way we can win this is through a mass mobilisation of people." (London Indymedia 2009b:n.p) The mass of focused people and pop up tents would allow the encampment to be set up quickly and for the protest to be initiated before they could be moved on.

The ability to get to the targeted site was decentralised and gave autonomy to individual affinity groups and their own tactical innovations. As Climate Camp stated on London Indymedia: "You are likely to have greater freedom of movement if you've planned your swoop and know the area." (2009b:n.p) Planning then was key at a decentralised level as well as from those individuals who organised the protest. Through previous Climate Camp protests there was a network that had already been built. This helped to draw people to locations and facilitate self-organisation once there.

¹⁶⁷ OM interview with the author

It was clear that the camp wanted to stay in one place and transform that area of Bishopsgate Road into a festive space while at the same time disrupting the circulation of traffic. Holding the space with the sign 'Nature doesn't do bailouts' further embedded the groups critique of capitalism (Feigenbaum and Frenzel 2016:124). As the later IPCC report stated: "all witness accounts and media reports suggest the camp was, in the main, peaceful, with a *'carnival like atmosphere'*" (IPCC report 2009:4) Events were planned on the Climate Camp website to include workshops on the history of direct action, linkages between finance and climate change as well as how to meditate (Climate Camp 2009b:n.p). A kitchen was set up as was an area for children. Here the central focus of planning was on the location while the getting there was decentralized.

Climate Campers believed a mass of numbers taking over the area around 62 Bishopsgate Road would allow them to stay. Yet there was some concern that policing in that area might overwhelm the activists presence. To aid contingency planning they had distributed the map detailed above. This could give information on secondary sites to be taken if the first targeted attempt failed. As Climate Camp state on London Indymedia: "Because things may change on the day, please take copies of our map with grid reference points, and have a person in your group subscribed to the text alerts" (2009:n.p). Although they believed the swoop done correctly and with the right amount of people would work they also had outlined two contingency plans. The European Climate Exchange seemed a perfect embodiment of how financial speculation and natural destruction worked hand in hand. Yet if the police had closed off the area surrounding the Climate Exchange or put a formation in place which stopped them from camping there then a series of other mapped locations could still be swooped upon. This mass swoop to create an encampment at a different grid spot on the map seemed to be the preferential contingency plan.

However Climate Camp also realised that the ability to set up camp might be stopped through a seizure of materials. If their numbers were low they felt that this would leave them vulnerable to police removal, detainment or an impoundment of their camping gear. As they stated on Indymedia the police

might “confiscate items to prevent us from setting up the camp safely.” (2009:n.p)
In order to mitigate the likelihood of this destroying any possibility of protest a second contingency plan was outlined. This also used the map but would work in a completely decentralised cell based formation. If the camp could not form as a single entity as a second contingency plan they hoped individual affinity groups would scatter the area and produce actions at one of the aforementioned and mapped sites. As Climate Camp state on London Indymedia:

“Various carbon off-set companies, carbon trading firms, greenwashing firms, and other climate-criminals will also be highlighted on the map. If the police prevent us from safely setting up the camp, groups are especially encouraged to do an action at one of these locations.”
(2009b:n.p)

Here we see the swoop as a flexible mass tactic with the possibility to explode into tiny autonomous pieces if the initial action is halted. As a strategy it works to allow for the possibility of a semi-decentralised, but led mass structure which can morph into a completely decentralised scattered attack if needed. Crucially it relies on a reconnaissance of the area; a “knowing” of the site. It draws out the hidden spaces of predatory finance which it brings visibility to in its protest. The mapped spaces are excavated and used to bring to prominence the inner workings of the financial markets. Their connections to climate change are highlighted formalising a critique of these institutions as destroying the economy and the natural environment.

However for Climate Camp the main focus was always on the location and holding this space of circulation in a way which embraced the camp as a prefigurative space. While it seemed that contingency plans and strategies were put in place to avoid containment prior to reaching the location, tactics did not seem to be used to avoid kettling once they had arrived at their location. As OM recounts, attempts to create fluid lines to disrupt the police containment strategy were not encouraged: “[On arriving] my first response was to try and flow through the police lines that were forming. Just as a kind of strategy for disrupting them kettling people in. They weren't particularly interested in that.”

While the camp started smoothly at 12.30pm growing to an estimated 2000 participants later that day (London Indymedia 2009c:n.p), a 2009 IPCC investigation into excessive force used by the police documented that: “At about 6.30 p.m. witnesses report the policing atmosphere change[d]; as one witness told us: *‘I have been to many camps and I have never seen anything so calm turn into something so violent’* (IPCC 2009:4). As such the IPCC stated that the MPS showed “no prior warning of the police intention to use force in containing the crowd, and no prior warning of a containment tactic” (2009:5).

Kettled in black or rainbow colours

Activist Steph Davis states of the G20 protests: “We talk about diversity of tactics but on Wednesday there were two main options: stand in a kettle in black or in rainbow coloured kooky charity shop chic.” (Davis 2009:12) Here she argues that anti-capitalist action needs to examine new ways of protesting in light of surveillance and public order tactics. As such she states: “At the G20, none of us were up to the job.” (2009:13) She asserts the sheer force of the operation used against protesters of both the G20 Meltdown and Climate Camp was too much for either of the direct action formation to bear.

The enclosure of the protest at Bank happened almost as soon as all the horsefolk had arrived. At 12.14pm James Hall a freelance journalist for the Daily Telegraph writes on their live blog: “All penned in at the Bank of England” (2009:n.p). At 12.21pm Richard Edwards their Crime Correspondent estimates the crowd at 6,000 people detailing that a “Carnival atmosphere reigns at the moment.” (2009:n.p) Yet, as he stated, inside Bank Junction the “police have sliced the area up effectively cordoning off different sections of demonstrators.” (ibid) Evidence given to the Royal Courts of Justice from the Met Police for the *Moos v. Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis*, states that the force imposed a kettle at Bank at 12.25pm as a preventative measure to avoid “breaches of the peace” (2011 para 20). According to Fourman Films (2009b) by 12.30pm many in the crowd hoped to make their way to the Stop the War Demo in Central London or to the East London University Conference. The conference was organised by some of

the same individuals behind the G20 Meltdown protest, who were adamant this was to go ahead (Knight 2009) so it stands to reason that numerous activists would have wanted to leave Bank to attend. Chris Allison the Assistant Commissioner of the Met Police in his evidence to the Joint Committee on Human Rights stated of the kettle:

“The rationale behind the containment tactic, in terms of the overall peace, is a reduction in crime and disorder, because we actually see you require less use of force from the Police Service to put in place a containment than you do if you are dispersing crowds through the streets of London.” (Joint Committee on Human Rights 2009:21)

Rather than providing an ‘overall peace’ the police tactic of containing protesters for hours on end was raising tensions. As Duncan Campbell states: “The thing about kettles is that they do have a tendency to come to the boil” (2009:n.p). This seemed to be acknowledged even by some members of the police force stationed on the protest. Rowenna Davis (2009) tweeting for the Guardian that day quoted an officer as stating: “When u get that many people trapped in a small space, they get angry. Unfortunately, someone has made the decision 2hold them in”. Another journalist Sunny Hundal (2009) reporting on the demo via twitter tweeted “There's no sense to police behaviour,” questioning major broadcasters for not asking “why the police are keeping ppl trapped” A few times in the day small numbers of protesters were able to break through the police cordon. When this occurred by Threadneedle street and police released tear gas (Davis and Hundal 2009:n.p)

In pinning in the crowd, police subjected them to increased visual surveillance and recorded individual details. After being kettled for hours, a policeman informed journalists Rowenna Davis and Sunny Hundal the crowds would not be released “until we've photographed and gotten details of every single one of them [...] You won't see some of them till midnight.” (2009:n.p) Duncan Campbell (2009:n.p) wrote that eventually people were only allowed to leave the containment area siphoned off one by one through Princess Street after their name, address and photo was taken. This added to the rest of the highly overt

surveillance which had been used at both the beginning and end of the parades. For example at the start of the silver parade Forward Intelligence Teams (FITs) were observed photographing protesters (London Indymedia 2009c:n.p). Furthermore on entering Bank Junction police photographed and filmed the crowd from raised positions (see Trueba 2009). The police containment tactic used at the G20 Meltdown both increased the capacity to document those taking part while heightening the volatility of the crowd. It simultaneously raised tensions and the ability to identify those whose anger levels had been elevated.

We might see the kettle as a means of intensifying conflict in a hyper surveilled space. In this way the kettle restricts the movement of the entire crowd eliciting hostility from protesters which validates further repressive measures against them. What we see in the example of the G20 Meltdown is a doubling down of surveillance measures in this spot of intense spatial control. This strategic incapacitation further penetrates confined space with a deepened surveillance of all who attend. While the extended time held and hostile treatment enrages protesters further the documentation of their anger, if it spills out into any form of indiscretion, violence or 'criminal' behaviour, can be used to indorse police actions or retrospectively confirm the need for the kettle in the first place.

Steph Davis argued the police operation at the G20 protests was "choreographed" (2009:13) between two kettles. As such we might see this in relation to André Lepecki notion of choreopolicing in which as he argues a "choreographed police presence" acts as a "movement controller" on protests so as to determine "the space of circulation." (2013:16) Davis asserts that Climate Camp was only allowed to be open as Bank was already kettled by 12.30pm that day. However as soon as the Bank kettle was opened that evening Climate Camp became kettled. This can also be evidenced by decisions made by CS Michael Johnson the Bronze officer operationally in charge of both demonstrations (Moos v Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis 2011 para 5). As stated by the Court, Johnson "decided to put in a containment there [at Climate Camp] to start when the Royal Exchange dispersal began, i.e. at 7.00pm" (2011 para 23).

Like Lepecki's notion of choreopolicing, this choreographed kettling attempted to delegitimise routes for the protesting crowd controlling their bodily mobility in space. Lepecki argues that this control attempts to stop protests from enacting a freedom of expression. Here there is an effort to halt radical formations from initiating through "police counter-moves as implementations of obedience" (2013:19). As he states: "The purpose of choreopolicing, then, is to de-mobilize political action by means of implementing a certain kind of movement that prevents any formation and expression of the political" (2013:20). For Davis the police operation and the depictions in the press were there to "ramp up divisions" (2009:13) disallowing the type of "beautiful [and] messy" (2009:12) convergence of protest politics she wanted to see. Davis stated:

"I felt totally schizophrenic on Wednesday, wishing that we could be united in our dissent and believing that only then would we really be a threat, but realising also that the split was real and that false unity is more dangerous than separation." (Davis 2009:13)

The split between the G20 Meltdown and Climate Camp could be interpreted as part of the fracturing of the alter globalisation movement that Hudig and Dowling saw based on political and tactical differences (2010:73). Yet Davis argued at the G20 protests much of the narrative around this split became simplified in terms of "[g]ood and bad protesters", "fluffy v. spiky" (2009:13). If as Lepecki contends choreopolicing prevents the bodily enactment of politics then this notion also seemed to have submerged itself in wider hegemonic interpretations of 'legitimate protest forms'. Lepecki asserts this is "a double and simultaneous operation, kinetic-perceptual, that turns all police utterance or action into a choreopolicing act" (2017:156) As such, he argues that these police utterances and actions work to define space in having a singularity of purpose and excluding actions outside of this. In this way we might understand choreopolicing as both enclosing and subsuming urban space for capital circulation. In relation to the anti-G20 protests, the choreographed twin kettle worked to keep these resistant masses separated, containing them in their divided spaces while slowly draining the energy from their commons.

Fracturing the kettle

After the high profile death of bystander Ian Tomlinson at the anti-G20 protests (to be discussed in Chapter 6) and MPS's reaction to the Climate Camp in the City, police public order tactics were scrutinised in court. In April 2011, at the same time Tomlinson's inquest was taking place, the high court heard Climate Camp participants' legal challenge to the containment tactics and use of force at the anti-G20 protest. The case was ruled over by Mr Justice Sweeney and the President of the Queen's Bench Division. The verdict depended on whether the use of containment and force at 7.07pm and 11.15pm was "reasonable and proportionate" (2011 para 8) in relation to the Climate Camp protest on the 1 April 2009. As the ruling stated: "The police may only take such preventive action as a last resort catering for situations about to descend into violence." (2011 para 56). It was found that at 7.07pm there was, as the judgement states, "no reasonably apprehended breach of the peace, imminent or otherwise, within the Climate Camp itself sufficient to justify containment." (2011 para 59) Nor did they find this containment justifiable on the basis that other protesters dispersed from the G20 Meltdown at Bank would have caused a disruption.¹⁶⁸ Furthermore they described the use of force in pushing contained protesters back as "unjustified". They did however uphold the dispersal techniques used at 11.15pm.

This legal criticism of police tactics might be seen to have a partial effect on the use of 'kettling' going forward. At least publicly it was used by some to reinforce the idea that some limits should be put on containment tactics. (Dodd and Lewis 2011:n.p) In effect it did not outlaw the use of containment, only question it in certain circumstances. Yet this questioning had a limited time span. In January 2012 the court of appeal overturned the earlier judgement criticising the police and delivered a verdict which exonerated the Met from any wrong doing at Climate Camp in regards to containment tactics. In this short window between April 2011 and January 2012, when kettling tactics were being closely observed, Occupy LSX may have benefited from this minor restriction in police powers and a perceived low point in public trust.

¹⁶⁸ It was suggested that if the police needed to guard against risks then limited street cordons with exit points or the sealing of some side roads could have provided a more proportionate response.

Equally the 2010-11 revelations about undercover officers¹⁶⁹ were seen by police to weaken the image of the force in the eyes of the public (Dencik et al 2015:23). Gold Commander in charge of policing the 2009 G20 protests, Bob Broadhurst, was forced to apologise in January 2011 for previously misinforming Parliament by saying no undercover operatives were at the demonstrations (Evans and Lewis 2011:n.p). Combined with the growing criticism of the police around their handling of Tomlinson's death, the undercover scandal could be seen to place further pressure on police tactics in in the run up to Occupy LSX.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined two ways in which activists initiated their protests in the hyper surveilled space of the City. Both the 'reverse starburst' and the 'swoop' found ways of protesters arriving at their locations using counter surveillance techniques that avoided pre-emptive kettling. The reverse starburst drove its way to its location through the creation of four separate parades, whereas the swoop used the 'legitimate' crowd to secretly manoeuvre their way to their final location before the kettle could stop them. Both these strategies navigated the ability to disseminate information widely using open communications while at the same time embedding counter surveillant tactics. However, while they were able to arrive at their location both protests ended up being held by the kettle and subjugated to force from the police. This choreographed twin kettle worked to separate the crowd enclosing and

¹⁶⁹ Known as Mark Stone to activists, Mark Kennedy's identity as an undercover operative was first revealed in Indymedia in October 2010 after activists found a passport with his real name and confronted him. It was later confirmed Kennedy was a member of the National Public Order Intelligence Unity since 2003. As Eveline Lubbers states: "It was through the research of friends and comrades who no longer trusted him, and specifically women in relationships with him, that undercover police officer Mark Kennedy was exposed." (Lubbers 2019:224). Both Boyling and Kennedy had sexual and long-term relationships with activists they met while undercover. Robert Lambert, who was SDS Controller of Operations from 1993-98, fathered a child with an activist he met while in the field. Here the long term attrition of groups is not just about their workings, but about breaking them up as people. Gaining access to their private lives and emotional worlds, taking part in what has been termed by the women targeted as 'state rape'. The revelations about his identity published in the press first in the Sunday Times (Rayment and Leake 2010) and later in the Guardian by Paul Lewis and Rob Evans would become the start of a number of exposes of undercover police operatives. Kennedy was deeply tied to Climate Camp having attended the G8 Gleneagles summit in 2005 and became one of the original people to plan the first Climate Camp in North Yorkshire in 2006.

subsuming space for 'legitimate purposes'. In the case of the Meltdown the final kettle was mixed with further visual surveillance, recording protesters through photographs and linking these to their name and address. While legal challenges from Climate Camp activists fractured the kettle for a short period, in the next chapter I examine the ability for video to help break established police frames.

Chapter 6 - Breaking frames after the G20

In this Chapter I examine how police frames around the death of Ian Tomlinson were built and broken. Tomlinson, a forty-seven year old *Evening Standard* newspaper vender was ‘unlawfully killed’¹⁷⁰ by police at the anti-G20 protests as he attempted to make his way home from work (Hemmings 2009:5). This encounter with a police officer was only definitely revealed seven days later contradicting the initially police and press claims that he had died of natural causes (Greer and McLaughlin 2010:1051). I start this Chapter with a brief examination of the ‘news frames’ in the run up to the protest and how we might interpret these. I then explore how ‘police frames’ were built through direct links to media outlets, systemic use of disposable staff, and the enclosure of sites where official knowledge is established. I outline how activists questioned these frames utilising Indymedia, Twitter and offline meeting spaces to generate knowledge passed on to journalists. While video documentation of a police attack on Tomlinson eventually broke this frame, I assert it is questionable to what extent power was held to account due to asymmetrical social relations.

News frames

Michael Rosie and Hugo Gorringer state that to a casual observer “the role of Britain's media in revealing police indiscipline and in holding the authorities to account [after the G20] might have offered an exemplar of the fourth estate in action.” (2009:1) However as they illustrate many of the stories which came out before the protest sensationalized the supposed anticipation of violent disorder by protesters and kept this frame when initially examining Ian Tomlinson’s death (2009:5). As Chris Greer and Eugene McLaughlin (2010:1046) argue in the run up to the anti-G20 protests the “default news frame was ‘protester violence’.”

These initial frames around protester violence also used the J18 as a reference point both internally in the police and externally in the press. While senior police officers were “briefed to be “robust” with protesters so there would be no repeat

¹⁷⁰ This judgment of unlawful killing was delivered by the eventual 2011 Inquest

of the riots at the J18 demonstrations in 1999” (Siddique 2011a:n.p)¹⁷¹, this event was also referred to in the press. On 18th March 2009 a police source briefed the Times stating their concerns stemmed in part from the “sever disorder in London in 1999” (O’Neill 2009a:5). On 21st March 2009 in *The Times* article “City prepares for summit street battle” Sean O’Neill (2009b:3) wrote: “Protesters are talking online about ‘a summer of rage’ marking the tenth anniversary of the J18 anti-capitalism protest, in which there was wide spread rioting and vandalism in the City.”

Greer and McLaughlin argue this frame of ‘protester violence’ was destabilized and shifted in relation to what they call the “raw content of citizen journalism [that] had crystalized around a news frame of ‘police violence’” (2010:1053). As such it is assumed the initial frame being built around this protest was seemingly broken by bystander’s video which showed Tomlinson to have been attacked by an officer leading to his death (2010:1051). Here it might be stressed the role that video can play as a counter surveillant force in holding police to account even when this medium is subsumed into traditional media structures.

This case also highlights the way in which police build frames around deaths in custody. It shows how attempts are made at an early intervention to take control of the narrative not just through the media as Greer and McLaughlin (2010, 2012) suggest but also in the way forensic evidence established. This case shows flows and stops in information which allow a plausible deniability. In such a way we might understand this as developing a visuality not just through information and statements but through the way evidence is constructed.

Although much of Greer and McLaughlin’s essay makes insightful points around the case of Ian Tomlinson they show an underlining technological determinism around this event. Their inclination towards the supremacy of technology progress is summed up in their false assumption that it was “mobile phone”

¹⁷¹ This was revealed at the inquest of Ian Tomlinson

(2010:1050) footage which documented the police attack.¹⁷² Of more concern this merges into the idea that the technologically mediated form is the principle point of struggle (2012:276). They use Thomson notion of “mediated visibility” (2005:49 quoted in Greer and McLaughlin 2012:276) to suggest that political struggles use visibility as their principle point of articulation.

While it is extremely important that a counter surveillance can be used to break these frames, these breaks can also be subsumed back into a narrative that sees these problems as occurring through ‘bad apples’. As such it could be said that Greer and McLaughlin (2012:280) overstate the later move in news frames towards “institutional failure.” Rather than examining systematic issues or holding higher ranking officers to account, these deterritorialised frames become reterritorialised without asking wider questions. Hardt and Negri argue:

“We need to train our eyes not only and maybe not even primarily on police brutality (as an exceptional event) or even on the police culture of impunity that makes such acts of brutality possible but also on the normal and daily violence of the police together with the courts and carceral system.” (2017:259)

Hardt and Negri assert that if the banality of state violence occurs as a systemic part of criminal justice, then refocusing our vision to highlight this institutionalized violence allows us to cut through liberal frames (2017:260). Here Hardt and Negri highlight the importance of connecting the ‘exceptional event’ and the ‘culture of impunity’ to the wider system of state violence and unequal relations which exist within the judicial system. Yet as Eveline Lubbers points out the courts can at times be a route to find out more about police activity using the criminal justice system’s own framework against itself (2019:227-8).

¹⁷² It was in fact a non-networked small digital camera. By 2009 the majority of phones on the market included image and video recording capabilities by default (Reading 2009:64). Yet mobile phone video as a networked tool did not yet have the extensive flows and connections it later did with the growing ubiquity of smartphone and streaming apps. It is accurate to assume mobile phone use was becoming pervasive with 81% of UK people owning a mobile phone in 2009 nearly doubling from 1999 (ONS 2012). However although the original iphone was launched in 2007 (Merchant 2017:3) by April 2009 only 15.1% of the UK adult population owned a smartphone (OfCom 2010:298). With slower 3G connections these smart devices as well as other phones would have been more likely transfer imagery via MMS or upload video or images via wifi, or bluetouthed to a computer

Equally while navigating the difficulties inherent in the news industry, she argues there can also be avenues here to investigate political policing (2019:229-230). Combined with activist research both these approaches see the loop holes in the edifice of liberal democracies which can be used to highlight their contradictions and develop resistance. In examining the case of Ian Tomlinson I attempt to show how 'police frames' were able to be built using connections that exist at an institutional level between police, coronors, and the press. In seeing where these frames break, their over-riding assumptions can be observed as well as the extent of their plasticity.

Solidifying police frames

The first Metropolitan Police press release on Tomlinson went out at 10.50pm on 1 April 2009. On BBC News 24 news anchor Chris Eakin stated:

You can see the breaking news on the caption there which has come in just a moment ago. And indeed the Metropolitan Police have just issued a statement [picks up a piece of paper behind him] which I shall read from now. It's got a good few paragraphs to it and I haven't had a chance to look at it so bare with me. The police are saying that a member of the public went to a police officer on a cordon on the junction of Cornhill in the City to say that a man there had collapsed. That officer sent two police medics through the cordon lines – so clearly where the protests were taking place – and they found the man who had stopped breathing and they called for support [...] they tried to revive him and moved him to behind the police cordon because they were being hit by bottles being thrown by protesters at the time." (BBC News 24 2009)

What we can see from this footage is that the Metropolitan Police immediately set the terms in which the death was reported. They were what Greer and McLaughlin (2010:1056) call the "primary definers." However this was because of their close links with established broadcasters and the press. As we see above Eakin immediately read the statement and presented much of the police framing as fact. As was evidenced at Tomlinson's inquest¹⁷³ the first people to aid and call attention to Tomlinson's collapse were protesters, one of whom was a medical student. To call them 'members of the public' is technically correct however when

¹⁷³ through statements and video

contrasted with the depiction of 'protesters' as impeding Tomlinson's medical aid we see a problematic dichotomy set up.¹⁷⁴ This is one where 'negative' actions are classed as coming from protesters and 'positive' actions are classed as coming from members of the public.

An important issue Greer and McLaughlin (2010, 2012) do not recognise is that one of the most crucial events in cementing the framing of Tomlinson's death was the autopsy itself. This is considered an objective expert's medical conclusion on the cause of death. Legally these 'forensic' studies can outweigh, or be used to interpret, other types of evidence. As such Keenan and Weizman state: "Forensics is, of course, not simply about science but also about physical objects as they become evidence, things submitted for interpretation in an effort to persuade." (2011:n.p) This process of becoming evidence is crucial to understand. In forensic pathology what is seen as evidence and what is discounted can have serious implications on the attributed cause of death.

In the first autopsy, which took place on April 3 2009 at 5pm, Dr Freddy Patel's final conclusion was that Ian Tomlinson died of a "spontaneous" (Lewis 2011a:n.p) heart attack. This was an assertion that was discredited by the following two autopsies which found Tomlinson to have died from internal bleeding. Patel's emphasis on the 'spontaneous' nature of the heart attack abdicated police of any potential wrong doing in the lead up to his collapse. In Patel's autopsy certain elements were left under investigated. For example although he found almost 3 litres of fluid in Tomlinson's abdomen he stated he was unable to find a source or cause of any bleeding (ibid). Furthermore he claimed that he was unsure as to whether the fluid contained enough blood to have meant Tomlinson died from internal bleeding. According to Patel he took a samples of the fluid but these were 'accidently' discarded (ibid). In summary then all of the evidence that could have pointed to internal bleeding was discounted.

¹⁷⁴ It is true that there was a counter protesters who also alerted police but this was in addition to the protesters aiding Tomlinson and calling for assistance.

Patel had already worked on contentious cases of death in police custody. Of particular relevance to this case he had conducted the first post mortem on Roger Sylvester in 1999. Sylvester, a person of colour, worked as an administrator at Lambo Mental Health Centre and was a Unison shop steward (Raw 2019:n.p). He had also suffered from mental health issues in the past. For reasons unknown he became locked out of his house, naked, and was banging on his own front door while witnesses say he was trying to cover himself up and get back inside (Amnesty 2000:6). He was restrained by eight officers (Wright 2003:n.p) and taken to St Anne's Hospital where the same officers restrained him for 20 minutes before he went limp and died (Inquest 2003a:n.p).

Patel's 1999 autopsy report stated categorically that Sylvester's injuries did not contribute to his death (Bennetto 2003:n.p). Afterwards Patel falsely claimed to journalists that Sylvester was a crack cocaine addict (Meikle 2012:n.p). Due to this false claim Patel was removed from the case at which point the following pathologist asserted Sylvester died of 'excited delirium' from cannabis use (Institute of Race Relations 2003). Sylvester's family forced and eventual inquest which found Sylvester to have been 'unlawfully killed' by police officers due to excessive restraints which cut off his oxygen supply (BBC News 2003:n.p). When no charges were brought against the officers in question Deborah Coles co-director of Inquest stated: "In this case a flawed investigation has shaped the deliberations of the CPS and its resulting decision." (Inquest 2003a:n.p) If one wanted to frame Patel as a bad apple in the case of Tomlindon one would have to contend that he had been systemically used as such.¹⁷⁵

Writing in the Guardian newspaper Professor Sebastian Lucas from the Department of histopathology at St Thomas's hospital confirms this systemic use of Patel. As Lucas states: "[Patel's] autopsies were performed for HM coroners,

¹⁷⁵ As highlighted by Harmit Athwal, Jenny Bourne and Frances Webber (2015:2) cases of black, ethnic minority and migrant deaths in custody are rarely brought to inquest and no officer has ever been convicted for unlawful killing. Furthermore little attention is paid to these deaths in the press and when deaths are mentioned attacks are made on the character of victims inline with police frames. For more information see: The Institute of Race Relation's (1991) *Deadly Silence: black deaths in custody*; Harmit Athwal and Jenny Bourne's (2015) *Dying for Justice*; Ryan Erfani-Ghettani's (2015) 'The defamation of Joy Gardner: press, police and black deaths in custody' and (2018) 'Racism, the Press and Black Deaths in Police Custody in the United Kingdom'

with or without a police interest, and they were happy to employ him, since he provided convenient diagnoses, did not over-investigate cases, and was always available.” (Lucas 2012:n.p) His ‘convenient diagnoses’ which do not ‘over investigate’ were already evidenced in Sylvester’s case. Even criticisms by colleagues did not seem to affect the coroners decision to hire him. Lucas contends: “I, and other pathologists, informed many coroners and their officers of our opinion on his poor performance, but only after the Tomlinson affair did any take note and express regret that they had not reviewed his work more critically.” (ibid) Patel’s autopsies and statements in these two cases strengthened the Met and City’s initial framing of deaths in custody. As such Patel limited his view of forensic analysis in these cases to evidence that abdicated the police of responsibility determining the parameters of sight.

The enclosure of Ian Tomlinson’s post mortem

This post mortem took place in a protected environment where observation was limited to only a select few. If as Weizman argues: “police forensics is a disciplinary project that affirms the power of states” (2014:10) how this gaze is affirmed is of political importance. Weizman suggests forensics not as a form of objective understanding but as a form of domination where official knowledge is created. If this is the case then it suggests who is included and excluded from a post mortem is of significance. Those included can ask questions, infer causality or bare witness to how judgments are made. Those who are excluded cannot.

Although the Met had taken the lead on the public order policing of the protest, the investigation into Tomlinson’s death was organised by the City of London police due to the fatality occurring in the Square Mile (Laville, Sandra and Lewis 2009). The investigation was led by City Police detective superintendent, Anthony Crampton (IPCC 2012:7) with the IPCC closely monitoring (IPCC 2010:65) the case due to Tomlinson having died within the police cordon. Crampton attended the autopsy with four other officers (Lewis 2019b:n.p). Both Tomlinson’s family and the IPCC were excluded from the post mortem. I argue the exclusion of these two groups had a crucial significance to the framing of his death and the IPCC investigation.

The exclusion of the family could be seen to revolve around withholding knowledge from them. The City police refused to let Tomlinson's widow see her husband's body, confirming his identity with fingerprints (Inquest 2009a:p7). After the first autopsy Tomlinson's family specifically asked police about the possibility of injuries. They were informed there were none even though Tomlinson had bruises and cuts on his head, legs and arms, as well as fractured ribs and sternum (Lewis 2019b:n.p). The fact that Tomlinson's family were not informed of their right to attend the autopsy – to visually observe his body – served to limit their knowledge.

The limiting of the families knowledge provided a blinkered vision which was used to strengthen police frames. On April 4 at 10.40am Anthony Crampton, the senior investigating officer, wrote in his decision log he did not inform the family or Family Liaison Officer (FLO) of these injuries as "Cannot offer realistic explanation which will cause alarm/distress to family which may be unnecessary" (IPCC 2012:46). This decision was criticized as "poor" by a 2012 IPCC report. According to the family's solicitor Jules Carey after the autopsy the family were encouraged to agree a public statement exonerating the police of culpability. Carey stated: "The FLO said [to Ian's widow] that officers tried to protect Ian from the protesters but were pelted with missiles as they provided him with first aid." (Carey 2012:n.p) This frame placed protesters as impeding the officers who tried to save Tomlinson.

Therefore in part the use of police framing relied on Tomlinson's family not having knowledge of the injuries to his body. They were refused what Nicholas Mirzoeff calls the 'right to look'. The way in which information was visualised was left to the City police. Visuality here had been naturalised as the domain of this public service. As such the family were encouraged to support and participate in cementing these frames through news outlets. The press release about the autopsy which the FLO agreed with Tomlinson's widow stated: "[Tomlinson] died as result of a heart attack *he had no injuries that would have contributed to death.*" (IPCC 2012:55-6) A press statement detailing Tomlinson's "sudden heart attack"

(IPCC 2011:31) was sent to the Telegraph¹⁷⁶ and Press Association (2011:29) even though the final autopsy report was not yet written.

Equally the IPCC were refused entry to the autopsy by coroner Paul Matthews. The autopsy's result was vital to defining what role the IPCC would take in the investigation (IPCC 2012:59). While they were closely monitoring the City of London Police investigation the options were to: independently investigate the death; manage the investigation by the City of London; supervise the investigation; or to have no involvement.¹⁷⁷ As IPCC investigator Christopher Mahaffey stated in an IPCC report "Much would depend upon the outcome of the post mortem examination and whether there was evidence of contact between the police and Ian Tomlinson prior to his collapse" (2012:23). Visually observing and being present at the autopsy could have provided further information to the IPCC investigation at an earlier stage.

Yet from the beginning coroner Matthews vigorously opposed the IPCC attending, forcing them into a position where they would have to obtain a court order to over-rule his judgment.¹⁷⁸ Matthews seemed determined to visualize the events along the narratives put out by the police and news outlets (many of whom had originally got their information from the Met in the first place). In written correspondence Matthews commented "...the information which I have so far received about the death – including reports in the media – suggest that this was a death by natural causes" (IPCC 2010:66) He continued by stating: "it seems to me at present, the chances that police action caused the death seem rather remote [...] The basis on which I am investigating is that this is a *sudden death* of unknown cause [my emphasis]" (IPCC 2012:28). This response asserting the lack

¹⁷⁶ The version sent to the Telegraph included the line: "The IPCC continue their assessment into the circumstances surrounding Ian Tomlinson's death. The City of London Police's investigation is ongoing." (see *ibid*)

¹⁷⁷ IPCC report 2010 p65

¹⁷⁸ When Matthews first denied the IPCC authorisation to attend IPCC Chair Nick Hardwick attempted to detail the importance of his investigators attending but faced further refusals. (IPCC 2010:66-7) IPCC Director of Legal Services John Tate appealed to the coroner to reconsider. He finally gained a guarantee that the post mortem would be delayed from its original date of 2 April until a court order could be obtained (IPCC 2012:27) Later that afternoon Hardwick phoned coroners Matthews to find a resolution outside legal proceedings (*ibid*) But they could not come to an agreement.

of police involvement and of a sudden death were crucially delivered before the autopsy took place. The acceptance of police and press framing of the event seemed to over ride the IPCC as an institution that was supposed to hold the police to account.¹⁷⁹

As such it seems that a great deal of emphasis was put on minimizing the IPCCs role, meaning that their mode of investigation would be lead by second hand information from the forensic pathologist.¹⁸⁰ Here the authority of the forensic pathologist in collaboration with the police was seen as holding the supreme ability to visualise the body and interpret events. The means of interpreting the observations of the body and data from other sources were seen as the domain of the official knowledge channels. Those providing oversight of these official knowledge channels had their investigatory abilities cut short. This forensic exam was conducted in an environment where certain evidence could be discounted without attention being drawn from either the family or the IPCC.¹⁸¹

Questioning police frames

If immediately the BBC News presented the case of the police, Indymedia questioned this frame from the start. This mistrust in the police was confounded by recent events especially the 2005 case of Brazilian born Jean Charles De Menezes who police shot and killed, mistakenly believing he was a suicide

¹⁷⁹ In a final defence of his decision on the morning before the autopsy he responded to the IPCC as follows: "The essential facts of this case, including the lack of police involvement in the death, were known almost from the beginning. The media who reported the death yesterday morning got it right. Those who reported that matter to my officers got it right." (IPCC 2012:28-29)

¹⁸⁰ According to the IPCC 2012 report their conversation went as follows:

"Mr Matthews said that people should not attend a post mortem examination unless it was absolutely necessary and offered to ensure the IPCC were briefed by the pathologist immediately after the examination. Mr Tate said *that questions or queries may arise during the post mortem that could be answered during the examination itself or be prompted by the examination*. Mr Matthews maintained that there should be no interference with the post mortem process. Their discussion ended without agreement." (my emphasis)

¹⁸¹ The judicial review challenging Matthews was dropped the next day, 3 April, when the IPCC received statements from two individuals who verified police officers were not in the immediate vicinity at the exact time of Tomlinson's collapse. (IPCC 2012:28) Even though statements had been made to the police that no officers were in the vicinity when Tomlinson died, numerous other reports were coming in to suggest that he had been in an altercation with police at a different site. These additional flows of information were not discussed with the forensic pathologist Patel.

bomber by the name of Hussain Osman (Laville 2008:n.p). As a comment on Indymedia stated:

“Remember the farrago of lies the Met came out with after they shot Jean Charles De Menezes? He was wearing a big bulky bomber jacket. He ran into the tube station and jumped over the barriers. He got up and came towards the cops when they boarded the train. All proved to be lies. Don't believe a word of what they're saying now.” (Indymedia 2009a:n.p)

As a common space of alternative dialogue Indymedia provided an area where activists could receive information, which they felt to be independent of traditional media bias (Kidd 2003:49). In part this allowed Indymedia's audience to read an alternative dialogue. Yet as a proactive tool it also provided space for activists to source observations from those who were near the scene. Two hours after Tomlinson's death was announced Indymedia London's newswire listed an email address witnesses could send statements to. As such it aimed to support legal challenges to police brutality. This online sourcing of information was also complimented by offline meetings arranged through Indymedia. On 2 April 2009 at 10.17am an Indymedia UK post called for a 'solidarity meeting' at LARC¹⁸² that evening. It stated: “please help spread the word! At the moment very little information is available about the events leading up to, during and after [Tomlinson's] death. we need to work together.” (Indymedia 2019b:n.p)

OM – one of the activists who had been involved in organising the first event at LARC – stated to me that the meeting was extremely large comprised of legal monitoring projects, activist collectives and a number of unaffiliated participants of the protest. Indymedia was a crucial site in which to advertise these meetings as it attracted numerous individuals who often worked separately on different campaigning issues. OM detailed how the reports coming in online and at the meeting completely conflicted with the police version of events. OM asserts: “We were quite quickly stepping into a role of trying to consolidate those witness

¹⁸² LARC stands for the London Anarchist Resource Centre.

statements that offered an alternative perspective to the official police version which proved to be false.”¹⁸³

So what we start to see here is an ability for alternative voices to come out through connections made in person and online. These were attempts to question a specific visualising of the event led by police sources and were vital in putting pressure on established news outlets to consider a different perspective. While in the heyday of Indymedia it might have reported these events itself first, by 2009 it seemed to focus as much on feeding events to news outlets with higher visibility. For example rather than focus primarily on news creation, after the LARC meeting Indymedia delivered a press release detailing that it was the protesters not the police who first tried to revive Ian Tomlinson.

At the same time, Paul Lewis, a journalist covering the story for the Guardian, became suspicious of the account being perpetuated by official sources and by established news outlets (including his own) especially as the missiles described as bottles were suddenly described as bricks in papers such as the *Evening Standard* (Lewis 2011c). In a TED talk he describes how activists and those with information which countered the official narrative were seeking him out. As one of the activists involved in compiling witness statements – asserted: “It was people like us who were feeding [Paul Lewis] interviews.”¹⁸⁴ Lewis contends that his free online Guardian articles which questioned the official narrative helped to deliver others to him. He states: “They were online magnets. Individuals with material that could help us were drawn toward us by some kind of gravitational force.”¹⁸⁵

While Lewis was being delivered information he was also tracking down witnesses and images that conflicted with the official version of events. Much of this happened through the proprietary platform of Twitter which Indymedia UK had started promoting the use of in the run up to the G20 protests. Although

¹⁸³ Interview with author

¹⁸⁴ See Justin Davenport and Danny Brierley article "Police Pelted with Bricks as they Help Dying Man" in the *Evening Standard*

¹⁸⁵ *ibid*

Twitter was founded in 2006 its use increased from 475,000 in February 2008 to 7 million by February 2009 (BBC 2009a:n.p.). Of Twitter Indymedia UK said: "This is decentralised DIY media." (Indymedia 2009c) The Twitter brand was defined by Indymedia as a 'very powerful tool for citizen journalism'. They emphasised that people could take advantage of this message board system with its easy interface and growing public presence. Like an open news wire it seemed to allow prospective connections to people and ideas while still allowing some degree of anonymity. However while Twitter was providing visibility to protesters, it might also be seen to be formally subsuming the Indymedia platform.

Cracking police frames

On 5 April 2009 further cracks were starting to appear in the general news cycle's framing of Ian Tomlinson death due to a collision of two seemingly objective sources. The forensic autopsy which was supposed to scientifically establish a cause of death was being questioned by another supposedly objective force... that of the photograph. An article by Townsend and Lewis which went out on Sunday 5 April showed an image of Tomlinson laying on the ground looking up at a line of riot police under the heading: "Police 'assaulted' bystander who died during G20 protests" (Townsend and Lewis 2009) When Townsend and Lewis's article was published the Tomlinson family began to question their close relationship with the police. As Tomlinson's widow Julia stated to the IPCC that the family: "started to learn more about what had actually happened on the day Ian died and instead of coming from the police we were hearing things through the papers and Paul Lewis from the Guardian." (IPPC 2011:32)

In fact that morning Paul Lewis managed to find the family at a City of London church where they were attending a service in Ian Tomlinson's memory (ibid) The IPCC 2011 report details that Lewis and Family Liaison Officer Adams had an "angry exchange" (ibid) when Lewis tried to speak to the Tomlinson family and highlight to them that Tomlinson did in fact have physical injuries at the time of his death. The report states that Adams claimed to have no knowledge of the bruising on Tomlinson's leg or any of his other injuries. He went back to his office

confused as to the accuracy of his own information and questioning why he had not been better informed earlier (ibid)¹⁸⁶ Ian Tomlinson's step son, Richard, agreed to speak to Lewis with his brother Paul. Richard gave the following statement about this to the IPCC: "After the service myself and Paul spoke briefly to Paul Lewis about what information he had. He told us he had pictures and witnesses that showed that Ian had been assaulted by the police and that he could set up a meeting for us to look at all the evidence he had." (ibid)

This event seemed to provide a catalyst for the family to seek independent advice. As the IPCC report goes on to state: "Following this [the conversation outside the church] the family decided to meet Paul Lewis without Sgt Adams being present." (ibid) Within two days the Tomlinson family had engaged the services of Jules Carey a human rights lawyer who specialised in actions against the police (IPCC 2011:33). On 6 April 2009, the day after the Observer article, the IPCC decided to deepen their involvement with the case moving from 'monitoring' to 'managing' the investigation by the City of London Police (2011:45). The IPCC did not yet chose to independently investigate the case because even though there was photographic evidence from *the Observer* as they state: "the post mortem had, it appeared definitively, excluded the possibility of a connection between any prior contact and Mr Tomlinson's death." (2011:33)

Deterritorialising police frames

It took video evidence for the IPCC to finally *independently* investigate the case when conclusive video depicting the police attack on Tomlinson came to light.¹⁸⁷ In fact the IPCC themselves said in their 2011 report: "It may well be the case that, but for this evidence [the video shot by Christopher La Jaunie], Mr Tomlinson's death may not have resulted in the criminal investigation that was launched by the IPCC on 8 April" (IPCC 2011:4) Ironically this bystander video had been taken not by a protester but Chris La Jaunie an investment fund manager from New

¹⁸⁶ Adams log state he asked his superior: "*did he have mark to his leg. He said yes. I said why was I not told. Because the pathologist discounted the superficial bruise as unconnected and non-contributory. It could have been caused by anything - but it did not cause death.*" ibid

¹⁸⁷ The crucial difference being that an independent investigation by the IPCC is one, as they state, "carried out by the Commission's own investigators and overseen by a Commissioner." Therefore it used its own staff to investigate the case independently rather than a police force.

York (Taylor 2013:n.p). He was in the City for a conference and wanted to see the protests first hand. As he stated at Ian Tomlinson's inquest he started filming on his compact digital camera as the police began to bring dogs onto the street (Sharrock 2011:n.p). The next day La Jaunie returned to the USA (Edwards 2011:n.p). The wider visibility that this case engendered helped this video come to light. As La Jaunie states he was told by a colleague that a member of the demonstration died. La Jaunie said to the inquest: "It seemed the only likely candidate could have been Mr Tomlinson [...] Of course, I didn't know it was him at the time so I started to try to get a physical description of the person who had died, and as more detail came out it became clear it was him." (ibid)

Witnesses and images conflicted with the official version of events before the video was released, providing space for an alternate vision of what might have happened. It was this space of questioning which had its profile raised via internet enabled connections. This was information that was easily available on the internet through free to read reports that could be sourced via a search engine. It was through these reports that La Jaunie then found journalists who had been covering the story. His aim was for the video to gain further attention and finally break the official narrative of events. As he says he contacted journalists: "by email to say I have something that may be of interest to you because at the time, as you know, the [official] story that had come out was that he had just died of natural causes" (ibid).

Yet even after the video was uploaded to the Guardian online, on 7 April 6pm (IPCC 2012:26), certain officials initially attempted to cast doubts over its authoritative proof of police wrongdoing. On 8 April when the family met with Crampton, the IPCC and their lawyer to view the video, Crampton informed the family that the attacker could be a "police impersonator" (2012:51) due to the slight difference in uniform. The family complained to the IPCC that Crampton was: "either unable to accept the obvious truth or determined to hold onto a falsehood at all costs." (ibid) Even as this established framing was being shattered it seemed that Crampton was determined to hold its pieces together. Just as police frames were being deterritorialised Crampton attempted to reterritorialise them.

However later that day after being shown the video by Met Police Inspector Williams, PC Simon Harwood of the Territorial Support Group handed himself in, admitting to being the officer who pushed and clubbed Tomlinson (IPCC 2010:80).

Following the bad apple

In the 2011 Inquest, La Jaunie's video was used to illustrate how the forceful push by Harwood had led to Tomlinson's internal injury. As Tomlinson's hands were in his pockets when he fell his elbow bluntly impacted on his abdomen leading to internal bleeding. Through the video Cary, the second forensic pathologist, was able to demonstrate visually how this happened (Lewis 2011d). The force used here was deemed by the jury to be "unlawful and dangerous" (Siddique 2011b) However Harwood continued to state that he had perceived Tomlinson moving towards him, even though video evidence contradicted this. He played down the force of the push he gave Tomlinson. He asserted Tomlinson was "almost inviting a physical confrontation" (Lewis 2011e:n.p). Harwood defiantly stated that, as Judge Peter Thornton outlined, "it was up to him to decide whether force was reasonable, and if he decided it was reasonable then it was reasonable." (Siddique 2011a) He showed little remorse for his actions seeming defensive with a sense of entitlement, though with little actual knowledge of the law.¹⁸⁸ The evidence provided at the Inquest led to a verdict of 'unlawful killing' by the jury. However it was not only La Jaunie's video which was used to examine Tomlinson's death.

Some questions could not be answered by La Jaunie's video, such as what happened directly before this clash. When the IPCC took over independently investigating the death of Ian Tomlinson from the City Police in 2009 they undertook one of their largest ever investigations (IPCC 2011:9). This included the examination of 1200 hours of video from CCTV, intercom cameras, 'police evidence gatherers', amateur footage shot from digital video cameras and via mobile phone as well as video from the India 99 police helicopter (2011:9). On top of this the IPCC were assisted by a specialist company who used the footage

¹⁸⁸ As Judge Thornton pointed out each individual officer was required to detail why they used force. Harwood stated he was legally entitled to baton someone who posed no threat (Day 7) This the judge also contradicted.

and photographic material obtained to create a video which tracks the movement of both Tomlinson and PC Harwood through the City of London in the half hour before they met (2010:14). This video reconstruction was then adapted and used at the Inquest and the later criminal trial (2010:5).

The video shows us the level of containment taking place that day and the effect it had on individuals. Following Tomlinson's timeline on the film we can see him on his way home from work move along King William's street via traffic camera. On CCTV at 19.02 we see him find a line of police at the end of the street who refuse to let him pass. He turns back and goes down Post Office court alley appearing on Lombard street in a number of photographs and an intercom camera at 19.09 where he was moved out of the road by police along with others. Walking down Change Alley at 19.15 he is recorded on CCTV encountering a line of police who visibly appear to make arm gestures sending him back the way he came. Walking out a side passage onto Cornhill he appears on a City of London traffic camera and then on 'handheld footage' approaching Royal Exchange buildings at 19.18. The area seems full of people milling around in the street and police vans. The video clearly shows how Tomlinson became a victim of police public order containment tactics before he was a victim of their violence.

As opposed to the J18 film examined in chapter 3, the IPCC video also forensically examines an act of police violence. Rather than a focus on crowd movements with an intension to combat them, this video examines the actions of an individual officer against an individual citizen in an area of a protest. What we see then is video being used to explore the problematic use of force. This I argue was ignored in the J18 police compilation. The 2009 IPCC investigation, forced by activists, journalist and video evidence, focused on a particular instance of police violence which due to the circumstances explained above had broken the framing of law enforcement as protecting the public. This was the "police doing things wrong" not just in terms of their control of crowds but in their treatment of the public.

As opposed to the J18 film time codes and mapped placements are vital to the IPCC video. Before each shot plays a map appears with the location of Tomlinson

or Harwood detailed with lines, dots and an arrow showing the direction of the camera. Over the map written in black text are the location, camera details and the time of each shot. For Tomlinson this starts at Monument Underground station and subway – camera 3 at approximately 18:55 where he walks through the underpass on his way home. For Harwood this starts at Cornhill at 19.02 where he is filmed attempting to arrest a man who he had seen trying to graffiti a police van. Examined in conjunction with the 2010 IPCC report we can see how this video works in an extremely different way to the J18 surveillance compilation.

For example in the IPCC film the moments police interact with civilians are in fact examined for the effect they have on the wider crowd, as opposed to the film produced of the J18. One such moment can be seen in the opening of Harwood’s video timeline. As the accompanying IPCC report states Harwood was on ‘general driving duties’ that day (2010:15) and had been asked to stay in his vehicle by his superior officer. The camera shows Harwood, who had left his own van moments earlier, pulling a man who had been graffitiing along the side of the police carrier. The camera zooms in as another officer, PC Hayes opens the passenger door. Harwood hits the man’s head on the side of the door as he pulls him by the jacket. The crowd can be heard to “gasp” (2010:16). As the report states up until this point: “there is no evidence to suggest that the above officers were subject to any degree of hostility. The crowd around them were more interested in what was going on at the Bank of England, this being to the rear of where the officers had parked the TSG carriers.” (2010:16) Furthermore the report goes on to detail how: “[the] action of PC Harwood in his attempt to arrest the suspect clearly attracted attention from the nearby crowd, who until that time had been looking in the opposite direction toward the Bank of England.” (2010:16) But moreover it goes on to make assumptions about the effect that this attempted arrest, in which a man head was hit on the side of the door, had on the rest of the crowd. The report asserts:

“At that time, within the area of Royal Exchange Buildings, fighting had broken out between police and demonstrators. It is probable that the

heightened tension at this location was as a direct consequence of the attempted arrest made by PC Harwood.” (2010:17)

What we see in the IPCC video is an attempt to understand where violent interactions from officers might have inflamed crowds to hit back against police; something completely ignored in the J18 video and by the security advisor interview by Nicola Kirkham. The IPCC video charts events along a strict timeline allowing us to observe where one particular action might have led to another. In conjunction with the IPCC report we can see how these tensions grew depending on when and where particular incident occurred. Harwood was clearly acting in an aggressive manner and as stated above by the IPCC, yet there were major tactical decisions being made that also might have had a direct effect on ‘heightened tension’. The immediate area around Threadneedle Street and Cornhill was being cleared as part of a ‘dispersal plan’ (2010:28) ordered by Superintendent Alexander Robertson. As part of this a ‘clearance operation’ was being undertaken in the pedestrian passage behind the Royal Exchange. As the report states: “the overriding objective being to move people/protestors away from the Bank of England where the focus of the demonstration had been contained and ongoing throughout that day.” (ibid) The aim was to prevent protesters from returning to the area around Bank junction, the Bank of England and Bishopsgate.

The 16th video in the IPCC film is from La Jaunie. It starts at 19.19 and 51 seconds just before the incident with Harwood. It shows Tomlinson moving away from the police line as they approach. Two officers with dogs come towards him. Both appear to push him forward and at least one dog bites his leg. Just before he approaches the fountain, from the right hand side Harwood dives towards Tomlinson batoning his leg and shoving him forward. Later for a criminal trial La Jaunie wrote the following statement: "Mr Tomlinson was not posing any threat to the officers prior to this, or aggravating them [...] I had the impression that the officer was making an example of him." (Press Association 2011:n.p)

Yet here the focus on Harwood, although extremely important in this case, could also have been extended to the actions of other officers and the higher ranking

police officials who gave them orders. Strategies to contain and disperse protesters also seemed to use violent tactics – why were these not further analysed? The report states Harwood had “taken it upon himself to join in with the clearance operation” (IPCC 2010:29). Yet the clearance operation and its violent tactics are never fully explored in the report, abdicating senior officers for responsibility. It was stated in the Home Affairs Committee that containment and the use of force – termed ‘distraction’ - needed to be questioned, because although “legitimate according to the police rule-book, [they] shocked the public.” (Home Affairs Committee 2009:2) Yet the report fails to recognise this:

The IPCC has considered the reasons why Chief Supt Robertson gave an order to clear this pedestrian area. In taking account of the serious disorder which had occurred at the Royal Bank of Scotland in Threadneedle Street, the decision taken by Chief Supt Robertson appears to have been both proportionate and necessary. (IPCC 2010:122)

However these reasons which cite ‘serious disorder’ at a branch of RBS are problematic. The handful of protesters who took part in this disturbance only did so *after* they were penned in this area by police (Turner 2010n.p). This disorder was in reference to a window which was broken in the area where protesters were contained. Duncan Campbell, crime correspondent for the Guardian, questioned why RBS did not board its window up like many of the others in the area (Campbell 2009:n.p). This would have been an especially easy defense of a bank, closed that day, in the area of a protest where many specifically blamed RBS for their part in the recent financial crisis. This is not to relinquish any accountability Harwood personally has for his actions in ‘unlawfully killing’ Ian Tomlinson. However the fact that a supposed independent police investigation into the event would not thoroughly analyse senior officer’s tactics in regards to tension, violence, containment and dispersal is highly problematic.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ The 2010 IPCC report did state that Robertson briefed officers that: “clearance should be a ‘slow and deliberate task’ and that ‘it was an obvious decision to ensure that demonstrators were cleared from surrounding streets”. It goes on to remark “Chief Supt Robertson moved into Royal Exchange Buildings behind the police cordon as it moved toward Cornhill commenting ‘The clearance of Royal Exchange Buildings was achieved in accordance with my intention’. Chief Supt Robertson did not see Mr Tomlinson until after his collapse” Yet none of these comments actually analyse the effects of these tactics in the ways I mention above (IPCC 2010:88).

Reterritorialising police frames

This 'forensic' video evidence would only go so far. Although it did help bring a verdict of 'unlawful killing' in the 2011 inquest, this was not the case in the criminal trial of Harwood. In the 2012 criminal trial the same evidence was used, but Harwood changed his stance towards it. He told the court: "Now I know all that I know now, and how poorly he was, I am sorry I got it wrong. I should not have hit him with a baton and pushed him." (Walker 2012:n.p) This apology reframed the violence shown in the video as a mistake, a one off, a freak accident. He also framed his actions in light of the wider occurrences of the day which he claimed to be a riot. The spectre of the conformist attempting to keep order against the ravages of the mob reared its head.

Harwood's case was also helped by institutional forces. First the Met Police and then the criminal judge withheld Harwood's disciplinary records from the jury. These took up five lever arch folders and disclosed ten incidents where complaints had been made against Harwood. One of the accusations of physical assault mentioned in the file was lodged by a colleague who observed Harwood as he "grabbed a suspect by the throat, punched him twice in the face and pushed him into a table, causing it to break." (Lewis 2012:n.p). After the trial Deborah Glass Deputy Chair of the IPCC detailed how Harwood managed to avoid disciplinary action for previous allegations:

Harwood was able to retire from the Metropolitan Police while facing disciplinary proceedings for previous alleged misconduct towards a member of the public. That he was then re-employed by the force, first in a civilian role and later as a constable, is simply staggering and raises considerable concerns about their vetting procedures. (Walker and Lewis 2012:n.p)

Although Harwood was brought to trial in a large part through the evidence obtained via video, the framing of this changed after the inquest verdict. Through withholding his disciplinary record and through a change in his stance with regards to the evidence, the policeman's actions were visualised in a new way.

Regardless of what the video showed, Harwood could avoid a criminal prosecution through reframing what had taken place as an accident in the midst of a 'public order disturbance'. Even though after the criminal trial Harwood received a gross dismissal from the Met, the police force itself was spared one of its members being criminally charged for manslaughter.

This saved the force from the considerable bad publicity and the difficult precedent this would have set. Attention then went to the Met and the IPCC punishing this officer through their own procedures rather than through a court of law. After the misconduct hearing Deborah Glass Deputy Chair of the IPCC stated: "Simon Harwood has now been held to account for his actions towards Ian Tomlinson on 1 April 2009 and will never again wear a police uniform." (Glass 2012:n.p) Yet accountability for members of the police force seems to be losing their job, whereas for civilians the ramifications are rather different.

Unequal relations to video evidence

Although Harwood was eventually dismissed from the police force the video evidence of him 'unlawfully killing' Tomlinson did not lead to punishment in a criminal court. Equally another officer who was filmed batoning and slapping a woman on a vigil for Tomlinson held the next day avoided punishment in a criminal court. Yet protesters were impacted extremely differently when it came to being videoed. For example two young men in their 20s, both of whom were captured on CCTV as they caused damage to a branch of RBS while being kettled were given upwards of a two year custodial sentences. One, Art student Phillip Georgopoulos, was filmed as he smashed the window of RBS while police penned him and other protesters on Threadneedle st (BBC News 2010:n.p). As his defence lawyer, Richard Parry, stated in court: "This was an unfortunate incident that arose spontaneously while a crowd was corralled by police, with effectively nowhere to go" (Evening Standard 2010:n.p).

Parry explained to the court that that Georgopoulos suffered from attention deficit disorder and dyspraxia which can cause him to act out when under stress. He gave a statement from his client, which recounted the situation: "We were

trapped and it just got out of hand. The police were blocking off different exits. I just got kind of crazy. I saw people with blood on their faces, including my friend” (Turner 2010:n.p) Parry underlined that no one was hurt in the disturbance: “Although damage was caused to the windows of the Royal Bank of Scotland, there were no injuries. Nobody was assaulted.” (Evening Standard 2010:n.p) Georgopoulos, who had a previous protest conviction, received a two-year sentence. (BBC News 2010:n.p) Here we see an unequal relationship to the law and documentation via video evidence where an officer who ‘unlawfully killed’ someone goes unpunished in court but only a hundred metres away smashing a window and hurling some metal gives a civilian two years in jail.

Furthermore protesters who did flare up once kettled were documented and their actions used to validate policing methods which criminalised all demonstrators in the area. As Michael Rosie and Hugo Gorrington state “it is clear that treating all protesters as an undifferentiated mass is ineffective (it did not prevent the attack on the RBS for instance) and can escalate a situation” (Rosie and Gorrington 2009:8). Therefore when the police utilise video in an escalating situation protesters are criminalized yet freedoms for the institution of the police and the protection of property are seemingly maintained at a higher standard. Although video evidence can bring police transgressions to light, these only go so far in holding individual officers and the institution of the police to account.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined the ability for video and alternative and traditional media outlets to challenge police frames. I argue these can act as a form of counter surveillance when they show police violence, like in the case of Ian Tomlinson. In these cases however video does not just work on its own but within networks that rely on activists and journalists devoting time, energy and resources to on and off line efforts in bringing these issues to light. These require a close observation of the ways in which police create frames – through supposedly impartial institutions like the coroner’s office, broadcast and print media as well as through their own institutional flows. Throughout this chapter I have used the unfortunate case of Ian Tomlinson to highlight this.

Yet equally, I argue, even when these frames are challenged by video documentation they still need to contend with an unequal access to the law. As I point out while Harwood was eventually dismissed from the police force for 'unlawfully killing' Tomlinson at his criminal trial information was withheld. Furthermore while Harwood faced no jail time even when video evidence showed him 'unlawfully killing' Tomlinson, civilian protesters face a very different relationship to video evidence. Finally although 'bad apples' in the police force may be isolated for limited punishment, the institution itself resists criticism of its management structure.

Here the police's inability to sufficiently admit fault in this case, mirrors their failure to adequately access points at which the J18 policing operations provoked the crowd. Rather, as I showed, the spectre of the J18 was used in the final police briefings before the protests against the G20 as an example of police losing control of a violent crowd. This intensified the use of force against activists and informed restrictive public order procedures which heightened tensions on the protest. However, as we saw in this chapter and in chapter 5 the force used in the policing the anti-G20 protests came under intense criticism after the death of Ian Tomlinson. Critiques by the Home Affairs Committee, the Metropolitan Police Authority, the High Court and in the press destabilised the use of kettling. With broken framing around Ian Tomlinson and the policing of Climate Camp, the shared sight between the police and the 'public' was in danger of being desynchronised. In the next chapter I show how activists utilised both a weakened kettle and an opening within certain established news outlets and alternative media platforms to develop their protest form.

Part 4... the cycle continues¹⁹⁰

Before he died my dad told me his own story about childhood surveillance. During the McCarthy period when my granddad went underground my dad was told to watch what he said in the house in case there were bugs planted there. But one day he found all these old forgotten pamphlets up in the attic full of communist propaganda. He believed so strongly in the consciousness raising power of materials in the top of his house that he used to seek out the bugs and read the leaflets directly into them in the hope of converting those spying on him. Sometimes I think that is what we are all doing... speaking into the bugs... maybe some day we will set the bugs free...

¹⁹⁰ If this cycle of monitoring and directing seems to continue endlessly what hope is there of escape? As a child my dad thought these surveillance tools could be subverted and used as a means of emancipation and recruitment to an alternative cause. In some ways we see a similar tendency guiding protest movements in this part as they work inside and disrupt established surveillance structures. Yet at the same time the police attempt to break down the barrier between the 'public' and their institution through a focus on conformity and the transplantation of sight. This sight is formed through a vision of the world which grew out of imperialism and colonialism and is deeply entwined with the development of capital. To set the bugs free we must fracture this syncing of sight pushed by the force of the state and by capital.

Chapter 7 - Occupy LSX inside/out: the kettle, the press team and the proprietary livestream

In 2011 just as between 1983-84 there was a call to Occupy the City (McCormick 2012:204; Franks and Kinna 2014:353; Cross 2016:156). In 1983-84 this was communicated through a DIY underground network of punk zines, gigs and political groups (Worley 2017:167). In this chapter I examine the ways that Occupy LSX worked within existing structures to communicate and develop its protest form. I start with an examination of how Occupy LSX ended up in St Paul's Churchyard and initiated its durational form within the confines of the kettle. I then show how the protest organisers developed a highly attuned public relations strategy to work within traditional news outlets. Finally I highlight how Occupy LSX worked within and adapted off the shelf systems for livestreaming.

As a formation which relied on direct democracy and attempted to work in a non hierarchical fashion Occupy LSX worked using many different techniques and included a variety of different factions. I focus on those who initiated and planned the protest formation and worked in the press team as well as examining the tools used to develop their livestream. Therefore this is not a definitive account of Occupy London which worked across a number of different sites in the Square Mile and beyond. Rather this is an attempt to explore certain counter surveillant strategies used by those initiating Occupy LSX and how they developed and differed from previous attempts at mass protest in the City.

Occupy, misdirection and the kettle

In his highly detailed examination of the territorial form developed at Occupy London Sociologist Jamie Matthews states: "It is impossible to really talk of an Occupy London before its territorial form, as the gathering of the occupation camp was also the gathering of Occupy London itself" (2018:333). While I do not necessarily disagree with this statement, my focus on the counter-surveillant strategy used on the first day the Occupy LSX protest established itself has led me to examine its preplanning stage. This type of examination has often been left out of academic discussions on Occupy London.

As Matthews outlines when Occupy London emerged on 15 October 2011 it had a particular material make up that attempted to engage with the space of St Pauls and Paternoster Square. What I would suggest is that we need an examination of the tactics and conditions which led up to Occupy London and prefigured it as a territorial form. This can compliment Matthews' territorial understanding of the protest itself. While I would agree with Matthews that the preplanning stages were a "dispersed and embryonic" form they, by their very nature, contained within them the potential for "Occupy London". In exploring what made up this potentiality we can understand more about how Occupy London came into being. We can then start to unpick the counter surveillant actions which undermined the police operation. These actions worked through an understanding of police public order strategy and particularly the use of the kettle.¹⁹¹

Like the other major direct action protests examined in previous chapters, Occupy LSX took a good deal of pre-planning. AG an early initial organiser of Occupy LSX describes a "firewall"¹⁹² which was put in place between those working on tactical logistics for the occupation and those working on communications. TC another earlier organiser in the run up to the occupation agreed with this description. As he states those involved in communications met separately from those focusing on logistics. This in many ways could be seen as a strategic move so that the operational ability to plan a complex occupation could be protected from surveillance while the ability to communicate and engage with the event itself was open to all. According to AG and TC logistics organised the set up, locations and planned possible movements for the protest. Logistics informed communications on a need to know basis. This reflects some of the planning involved in organising the J18's starburst where only key organisers knew where the end point was going to be.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ As I state in Chapter 3 the kettle itself developed as a police procedure through 'knowledge' obtained via surveillance.

¹⁹² Interview with the author

¹⁹³ In this case others who were taking part lent themselves to be lead in this formation. Though of course others drifted off and many had preplanned their own accompanying protests for the day. This added to the police confusion around the event and distracted them from the target.

There is often an unspoken assumption that the target for the Occupy LSX camp was Paternoster Square – the space directly outside the London Stock Exchange – and it was a happy accident that protesters happened upon St Paul’s churchyard as a final location.¹⁹⁴ However there was a growing awareness leading up to the protest that scouting back up camping locations was an important contingency option. As an initial Occupy activist claimed to the Guardian in 2012: "I'm not sure the people who started up [the Occupy London Stock Exchange] Facebook page understood that Paternoster Square was private land until we started getting the first press reports on it saying: have we talked to Mitsubishi, who own Paternoster Square?" (Jeevan 2012:n.p)

At least a week before the protest it became clear to Occupy London organisers that Paternoster Square would be a particularly challenging place to camp due to it being privately owned. On the 8 October, the Times ran an article on page 71 of its paper detailing the difficulties Occupy London would have protesting in Paternoster Square on the 15th. Setting the tone the headline read: "The City’s protesters are told: ‘Get off our land’" (Ralph 2011:71). As the article states the site’s landlord, Mitsubishi Estate Company, had banned protest in the square. While highlighting how the attendance for this event was in its thousands on social media the article claimed the occupation had now been ‘thwarted’ by the landlords action. The article reported that "Organisers conceded yesterday that they would no longer occupy the LSE or the square and would set up a camp "in the vicinity"" (Ralph 2011:71) My interviewee TC states that in the end up to seven possible ‘public’ sites near to the London Stock Exchange were identified and researched as potential camping locations with St Paul’s seeming like a likely eventual spot.

As AG stated to me in an interview, invited participants at one of the first planning meetings – weeks before the occupation – were made up of people from the then disbanded Climate Camp as well as the Spanish Indignados in London, UK Uncut, and activists from previous occupations and assorted backgrounds. Members of

¹⁹⁴ An example of this can be seen from Rae when he says: "The protesters were blocked from entering the area by a large number of police, so instead the protest moved into the neighbouring area outside St Paul’s Cathedral." (2015:743)

Climate Camp already had experience with durational stays in the City and elsewhere. Much of this logistical knowledge would be extremely helpful in running the camp. In 2009 Climate Camp had outlined the importance of contingency plans for their previous City protest.¹⁹⁵ What Climate Camp organisers realised was the difficulty in holding a location and the importance of being flexible and having contingency sites. Those who had then become pre-organisers in Occupy were likely to have used these experiences in helping to develop their logistical strategy. St Paul's directly outside the gates of Paternoster Square – on public land and land owned by the church – suggested itself as much more hospitable grounds to camp on than that owned by the Mitsubishi Estate Company.

Crucially one of the main initial organisers of Occupy confirmed St Pauls as a central target of the camp in a Facebook post reminiscing about her memories on the three year anniversary. As she states of the St Paul's kettle on the first day: “we managed to trick the cops into kettling us into the exact spot we wanted to set up the camp.”¹⁹⁶ The kettle, a process of ‘strategic incapacitation’, was utilised as a space to initiate Occupy's long form protest. Observations of police containment tactics could then be against the force. The space of containment became a highly charged arena in which to solidify and bond.

On the day there was no way of entering Paternoster square for any length of time. Mitsubishi Estate Company had obtained a high court injunction and lines of police blocked entry into the square. Tweets from Occupy LSX highlight a number of manoeuvres activist took trying to enter the space from the south, north and east side. Unable to take this site they returned to St Paul's. Here away from the supposed target area the Occupiers could form a group identity through their assembly, later in the evening using the police kettle to intensify their union.

¹⁹⁵ On Indymedia in the days before the 2009 Climate Camp in the City protest they stated: “Things may change on the day, perhaps significantly [...] It is possible, even likely, that the place that we finally set up camp will not be the Climate Exchange.” (London Indymedia 2009b)

¹⁹⁶ this was highlighted on a blog post (samthetechie 2014)

Matthews narrates the initial events of Occupy LSX through his own experience of being there with an emphasis on how the police protection of Paternoster square kept Occupiers trapped around St Paul's. As he states: "Having initially planned to occupy Paternoster Square, a combination of fencing and the police held the would-be occupiers in the area of the Cathedral". He calls this an "early challenge to an inchoate territorial claim" (2018:133). My argument here does not dispute this. However in the pre-planning stage of the protest it had already been clear that Paternoster Square would be a difficult site to hold in the longer term.

Therefore while those turning up on the day wanted to enter Paternoster Square it may have already been clear to those who pre-planned the event this location would be an unlikely place to hold. Continuing with the movement on Paternoster Square was important for all those involved. After all the church was not the main focus of the Occupiers anger, rather this was the financial system represented by the London Stock Exchange. Remaining centred on entering Paternoster Square was an important action to emphasize this. It gave momentum to the day but also misdirected the attention of the police to the protection of Paternoster Square.

The police then made sure the 'vicinity' around LSX was protected by kettling the Occupiers on the site the pre-planners of the protest had themselves plotted as a likely spot to hold. Matthews highlights how the kettling of the Occupiers helped to fuse them together as an entity. He asserts: "The police's kettling of the protest, and their on going incursions and assaults, reinforced the holding of space as an expressive form of resistance" (2018:133). Crucially, according to Matthews, the kettling of the protest worked to solidify the protest group.

We might see this as a way of activists using tactical public order formations against the police. In a video made at the five year anniversary of Occupy a first-time activist, T, explains what being kettled over the night meant to her. As she states: "We got kettled in. We couldn't leave and the fact that we couldn't leave just made me want to stay" (Drift Report 2016) According to T the durational and long form Occupy protest became initiated from inside the kettle; reforming this police tactic to solidify the intentions of the protesters. The kettle, instigated as a

main tactic after surveillant learning from the J18 was then used to initialize a space of resistance at Occupy LSX. Here they generated and initialized group identity from inside this highly charged and contained space.

This became a space of conflicting corporeal tension. Matthews says the holding of St Pauls churchyard from inside the kettle “had an immediate quality; bodily and affective before it was tactical” (2018:133). Yet we might question whether the affective can be separated from the tactical from inside the kettle. This embodied holding of the kettle was in response to police tactics which purportedly uses the ‘bodily’ and ‘affective’ as part of a strategy of what law scholar rua Wall (2019:145) calls “atmotechniques”. rua Wall describes this as “interventions that are specifically designed to affect the crowded atmosphere of protest” (2019:143) He outlines how “affect management” (2019:156) is used to create embodied changes in the crowd. If, as rua Wall highlights, kettling is one of the “atmotechnic novelties” (2019:152) of UK public order policing then the affective nature of being inside the kettle is already intermeshed with police tactics.

The ‘immediacy’ of embodied feeling becomes a tactical point of conflict between protesters and police. According rua Wall the kettle attempts to transform the “affective and atmospheric dynamics of crowds” (2019:156) in real time. This is immediately felt by the mass of people attending as an embodied experience with their response observed and anticipated by police (2019:158). According to rua Wall this immediate impact on the bodies of protesters needs to be recognized and consciously worked against. As rua Wall states: “Just as police seek to gain control over bodies and space through atmotechnic interventions, protesters need to develop techniques that immunize crowds or disrupt the affective forces that are brought to bear upon them.” (ibid) I would suggest that with this in mind it is important not to separate the ‘bodily and affective’ from the ‘tactical’ or the ‘strategic’.

In many ways Matthews’ recognises this implicitly through quotes from his informants; one of whom discusses the ‘experienced people’ who gave tactical

advice through the human mic¹⁹⁷ around how to deal with the police. As Matthews' informant describes while the assemblies were going on the police attempted to disrupt them by 'pushing in'. The 'experienced people' informed Occupiers not to 'react to the police'. Their advice was to 'sit down', 'turning their back' to the police (2018:133). Physically this created a block of bodies which could not be moved, but it was also able to "disrupt the affective forces" (rua Wall 2019:158) of the police. Here the body is a tactical device to both block police action and to create an affective commons. As Neal et al state the kettle is "designed to lower the collective potential embodied in protest" (2019:1055). In utilising a simple embodied action these protesters were able to design out this police tactic and create their own space on the inside of the kettle.

However as Matthews' informant states: "Turning your back on that... that's brave because the hairs are going on the back of your neck because they might grab you or hit you, but it works" (2018:133). As rua Wall argues this is intentionally caused by a 'show of strength' intervention tactically used by the police to shift the mood by surprising or frightening the crowd (2019:145). This model attempts to, in rua Wall's words, "create intense 'atmospheric shifts' to ensure that the protestors feel this intensity of affect" (ibid). Protesters were asked to turn their attention from the police's 'show of strength' and engage instead with the dynamic of the assembly atmospherically charged by the kettle. According to Matthews informant through not engaging with violence or reacting to police violence Occupy were able to hold the space. Here we see an engagement with police public order tactics which attempts to counter this formation from within.

While at the 2009 Climate Camp in the City this tactic of non-engagement still led to violent attacks being used by the police to clear the area, certain particularities at Occupy LSX may have circumvented the full force of this.¹⁹⁸ The site Occupiers camped on was not a main road as was the location in 2009. It was not therefore

¹⁹⁷ The amplification of someone's voice through being repeated word for word by the crowd.

¹⁹⁸ To be clear I am not arguing that force was not used by the police on the first day of Occupy LSX. There is a great deal of evidence that it was. I am only pointing out that that large numbers of protesters could hold a particular type of location with these tactics especially in a time of slightly weakened police public order tactics.

physically blocking the logistical circulation of capital. As is further examined in Chapter 5 and 6 the framing of police public order procedures had suffered since 2009. Additionally, as mentioned in chapter 5, the use of police force at the 2009 Climate Camp had only six months earlier been labeled “unjustified” by the high court.

In this environment, and perhaps with the threat of heightened visibility garnered by the wider Occupy movement the protesters outside St Pauls used the kettle against itself. Under these conditions protesters worked inside the kettle using embodied non-engagement. Here they could use the ‘manufactured vulnerability’ of being contained to their own advantage. Containment tactics which developed out of observations and surveillance of the ‘extreme’ protests within the City of London were then used by Occupy LSX activist as a catalyst to solidify and initiate their durational protest.

Visibility, voice and the press team

A lot of work has been done around the Occupy movement in relation to social networks and new media (Juris, 2012; Odih 2013; Fuchs 2014; Olcese 2014; Castells 2015; Figueiras 2017), as well as the history and practice of protest and political movements (Graeber 2013; Harvey 2013; Doherty 2013; Dean 2016; Cammaerts 2018a) and Deleuze (Thoburn 2015; Mecchia 2015; Nunes 2015; Burrows 2015). However little attention has been given to the relationship of Occupy LSX to established media outlets and the benefits and conflicts caused by this. When the media team are mentioned this rarely goes into much detail around their role (see Sotirakopoulos and Rootes 2014; Sotirakopoulos 2016; Cammaerts 2018a, Cammaerts 2018b). Where there are exceptions these do not focus on the workings of the press team. For example Kavada (2015) has written an in depth article about the media team but does not go into detail around their workings with the established press. My aim in examining the above is to draw out the surveillant forms used by established news outlets and how protesters engaged with these through countering, utilising or twisting these forms for their own purposes.

While I have shown links to surveillance operations through the press in Chapter 3, we have also seen attempts to heighten visibility of police violence through newspapers in Chapter 6. As such we might see the press as a contested space of surveillance and counter surveillance (Fuchs 2013:5). Through highlighting the workings of the press and media team in helping to establish Occupy LSX I provide an example of how the presented 'image' of the camp was fought over. I am not suggesting this should be the main point of struggle for activists. However this case illuminates some of the problems and potentialities for dealing with mainstream media outlets.

Through the relationship with established media outlets the press team attempted to publicise the aims of Occupy and use it as a space to frame narratives around the protest. However at times a disparity arose between the time scales of the general assembly (GA) and the 24/7 news cycle, meaning comments and decisions were made by the press team without general assembly approval. As a working group the press team were put in a position of having to make decisive choices on the spur of the moment or risk negative assertions being given more weight. These responses to established news outlets at times informed strategic actions at the camp. Some conflicts arose between those who felt engagement with established news outlets was too overwhelming and alternative media and the GA should take precedence. The press team tried to synthesise the voice of the camp in a way established forms of mediatised communication could understand. As the protest continued some members felt left out of this process.¹⁹⁹

Occupy LSX press team engaged with the established press and broadcast media further than any other protest in my time frame. Partially this was to do with the fact that previous Occupy sites in America had already created a news cycle which was in mid flow by the time Occupy LSX started. This was also aided by a narrative power which had been building from the 2008 crash and the growing prevalence of new forms of communication. There are questions around the

¹⁹⁹ Cammaerts (2018:30) interviews activists who question the media teams actions in relation to the rest of the camp

extent to which Occupy LSX relied on social media (Fuchs 2014:94) and mainstream newspapers (Fuchs 2014:74-75). However as we will see in this section the press and media team did have a major role to play in the protest set up and its continuation.

Just as many news outlets had been fascinated by the use of the internet in the 1999 Carnival Against Capitalism, the use of live stream, video sharing sites and social media by the occupy movement attracted a great deal of attention. This mixture between online and offline action by a diverse group of people protesting against austerity and finance was part of a wider wave, which had been building since the Arab Spring. The visual frame around the Arab Spring protests promoted by both UK and US governments was that these were movements pushing their totalitarian regimes towards democracy.

Occupy would utilise these notions attempting to break the framing of liberal democracies as working 'for' the people by remediating the repertoire of action used in the Arab Spring and by the Spanish Indignados to question the nature of capitalism. The visual framing and construction of this in one sense was crucial. Visibly reproducing these tactics gave strength to the movement. Though it could not sustain itself or deliver any real power of authority without sticking to the grassroots methods which brought so many individuals to the streets. Occupy then strove for both embodied action and heightened visibility.

It had taken some time for Occupy Wall Street (OWS) to gain the serious attention of the established news outlets in the UK. The Guardian covered it online after two days with a positively framed article entitled "The call to occupy Wall st resonates around the world" (White and Lasn 2011:n.p.). Yet other outlets took more time. The Independent covered this protest after three days with the tongue and cheek article "Wall st gets bull protection" drawing attention to the fact that the infamous bull statue was receiving police protection even after, as it states: "The movement [...] appears to have dwindled as bankers returned to work." (Independent 2011:n.p.)

The Daily Mail mention OWS in passing on 24 September 2011 in an article focused on the tenuous nature of the 'world economy'. Their report highlights the fall of the Dow Jones "as hundreds of 'Occupy Wall Street' demonstrators continue an Egyptian-style protest in New York" (Whitwell 2011). The Financial Times waited until mass arrests started to take place covering the protest eight days later in their Sunday paper, but they underlined the fact that the OWS protests had "failed to disrupt work" on Wall Street.

It was only after 700 people were arrested on the Brooklyn Bridge on Saturday 1 October that a flood of papers covered these protests on Monday 3 October. The Mirror, the Telegraph and the Times, all of whom had ignored these events up until that point, began coverage of OWS. By the 5th October the FT had some relatively positive leaning articles about OWS as did the Times on 7th October. Equally these events had also been shared via social media. CL, a long time activist who had been involved in Reclaim the Streets and the Climate Camp protests in the City of London in 2009, was one of the people who first set up the Occupy LSX Facebook group advertising the protest. According to him the images of police brutality swelled the numbers of people agreeing to attend the London Occupy event. As he states:

"people saw the social media of four women being pepper sprayed [on 25 September] and our Facebook page went from about 150 people saying that they were coming on October 15th [2011] to about 15,000 people saying that they're coming on October 15th. And that was the moment that did it. It was four or five women being pepper sprayed in Occupy Wall Street and then a load of people being arrested on Brooklyn Bridge [on 1 October]. And that's what moves people."²⁰⁰

The observed aggression against peaceful protest seemed to give further weight to a narrative that was shining a light on the unaccountable nature of finance and ones ability to dispute its power through direct action. AG – a member of the Press Team and initial organiser for Occupy London - also asserts the power of police brutality in mobilising attention. She stresses that videos showing pepper spray attacks on non violent protesters undercut the narrative that these protests

²⁰⁰ Interview with the author

were ineffective or without purpose. As she states: “it gives the lie to this kind of idea that this is a joke, this is irrelevant, this is very fringe. Because if it is so irrelevant why is the police reaction to it so extreme.”²⁰¹ She saw these videos as aiding an ability to counter established narratives and build a movement of resistance.

As this media cycle swung faster, anticipation for events around the world – and particularly in England - grew. Not only had the Spanish Indignados announced the 15 October 2011 as the date for world wide actions, but as my interviewee AG – an initial organiser in the press team - points out, within a week of OWS three Facebook groups had listed actions for the 15th October in and around the City of London. Equally, as AG asserts, various anti-capitalist groups were planning actions for around that time including the Spanish Indignados in London, UK Uncut and Anonymous UK.

Interestingly AG declares right leaning established media outlets played a role mobilising these groups and others around the Occupy LSX event. It seemed early on the press had been keen to pinpoint where occupations might be taking place in London. Yet through doing this they also gave visibility to these potential events. On the 10th the Daily Mail ran a long article specifically pointing to and imaging the Facebook page for Occupy London’s Stock Exchange and listing its twitter handle OccupyLSX. On the 13th the Sun ran an article highlighting the group Occupy London Stock Exchange and detailing their Facebook following. Furthermore on the 14th the day before the protest the Telegraph specifically lists OccupyLSX and its Facebook group in an extremely negative article against the whole Occupy movement.

That same day the FT also ran an article highlighting the now global phenomenon that was Occupy citing occupations in 868 cities across 78 countries. It specifically listed OccupyLSX as an event taking place the next day. AG suggests it was this growing publicity around the event and the swelled numbers on the Facebook page that brought other groups around the table. As she states:

²⁰¹ interview with the author

[the creators of the Occupy LSX facebook page] had gone around all the other groups who wanted to do things on the 15th October and said look this seems to have a bit of momentum shall we do this? [...] So the people around the table they were people who were there by invitation. And so it was like OK what do we do to take this off the ground. And that's how it started.²⁰²

AG details how in the week running up to the occupation she states there were approximately 5 meetings. These were open and advertised on Twitter and Facebook. The momentum running up to this event felt stronger as each meeting progressed as AG states:

Essentially the people attending those meetings more or less doubled at every single meeting. I think that there was a realisation that what ever happened on the 15th of October was going to be quite big. And that seemed to be quite obvious quite early on. And a lot of people put a lot of work in beforehand.²⁰³

In order to utilise this momentum as productively as possible people joined working groups quite early on. Communications according to TC initially dealt with outreach including flyers, posters, as well as getting information out via social media and the website. They also formed sub groups according to the specialist skills of those involved. Both TC and AG gravitated to the press team based on their previous experience in PR. Both had more corporate media experience as well as being involved in activist campaigning. Although TC had been working in consumer public relations with a history of PR that went back fifteen years, he also had a commitment to direct action activism. Motivated by the 2010 student protests he had founded a direct action group fighting for LGBTQTI rights on an anti-austerity agenda. As part of this, earlier that year he had been involved in a previous occupation of Trafalgar Square during an anti-cuts demo. AG previously worked in a literary agency that sold translation rights but had also been involved in political campaigning before Occupy. Earlier in 2011 she was part of an online campaign to get whistle blower Chelsea Manning

²⁰² Interview with the author

²⁰³ Interview with the author

recognised as a UK citizen. Through this work she managed to place a story about Manning's dual nationality on the front page of the Guardian. She also worked pressurising the government in order to help get Manning moved to a different holding facility with better conditions.

AG was successful in her campaign to get Manning moved and therefore as she states: "by the time I got to Occupy I had an appreciation of the ability to fight back against really quite established narratives set by big organisations with free to use means." What AG questioned was what she calls the "equality of arms [...] in that sphere."²⁰⁴ In Occupy she saw an ability to battle the narrative that the financial sector had been punished enough and instead to push for further economic accountability and equality. The press team started with a core of three people including AG and TC. As TC states together the three pooled their contacts into a huge mailing list which grew to 3000 plus. As he recounts Occupy mixed both environmental, financial and political issues which could be driven into local, national and international news based TV, radio and publishing. They started through writing one press release document which then could be tailored to different sources and audiences.²⁰⁵

As TC and AG confirm the press team knew they had a big story. TC details how they prepared the press release to publicise OccupyLSX before the event took place. One was sent out Monday 10th for the Tuesday 11th print and broadcast editions and one on Friday for Saturday 15th. They had also set up a large press function for the first day of Occupy focusing on the news wires and the national TV. This impact on established media outlets aimed to heighten the visibility of Occupy in order to allow its message to have the largest possible impact. AG states traditional broadcasters very much "latch on to" the Occupy LSX story, as she recounts "even at the BBC [...] they red lined it at the beginning."²⁰⁶ This attention seemed out of the ordinary to AG but as she asserts this was "a moment when finance and lobbyists and the government were sort of retrenching

²⁰⁴ interview with the author

²⁰⁵ interview with the author

²⁰⁶ interview with the author

themselves.”²⁰⁷ Crucially she saw a re-orientation occurring in the post banking crisis and austerity era. As such she felt the image of Occupy could be used to further question the politics of this age.

AG mentions the historic significance of St Paul’s as one of the many church institutions in the City what they called “islands of conscience.” She mentions St Paul’s cross as the origin of democracy. As such the ability to leverage this against the present situation was seen an asset. TC discusses how this historic value was also linked to photo opportunities which were tied to the iconic image of St Paul’s behind a sea of tents. These images could render visible the stark contrast between the glorious monument to a supposedly anti-materialist god and the shabby but creative tent city which arose on its door step. Here alliances between the church and finance could be questioned as well as deeper definitions of fairness and democracy.

Equally as a site St Paul’s is often seen as standing in defiance against attacks on the state. The iconic image of the Blitz rolled out again and again is the cathedral at night rising from the smoke as all around it enemy planes decimate London. This was Britain as a beacon of allied hope against the growing power of fascism on the continent. Yet in images which depicted Occupy LSX St Paul’s was becoming a contested site for national identity. Was it for the power of the City and finance – one which had just created the worst economic down turn for a decade – or was it for those who wanted to stand up against this?

Press team strategy at Occupy LSX

As TC states the press team saw it as their role to ‘synthesize’²⁰⁸ the voice of the camp in press releases to established news outlets. They saw this as separate to alternative print media coming out of the camp such as the Occupied Times. The Occupied Times often specifically focused on the range of opinions and debates at the camp as the paper ‘of’ the Occupy LSX community. The press team saw themselves as using established news outlets to keep control of the narrative

²⁰⁷ interview with the author

²⁰⁸ interview with the author

running through the 24 hour news cycle. As such TC tried to find a tone that gave Occupiers 'the most reasonable voice'²⁰⁹. This could then be pit against a 'hysterical' church and City establishment.

This ability to take the role of the 'reasonable' party was seen by the press team as one of their main assets. Keeping the 'moral high ground' against the financial industry and the church seemed to rest upon this approach. AG agrees with this commenting that the most effective strategy in these situations is to "find the nearest moral high ground and stay there because it's the best strategic position. High ground, shoot down."²¹⁰ This sustained voice of reason was used to combat issues and present statements to the press which engaged with a fast paced cycle of news. This was done through the ability to write up stories quickly and get them out fast. This was particularly true when dealing with negative assertions from the Church, the City or from members of the press. TC details this in the following way:

bullies operate in the dark, so therefore we need to use the light. And when ever something is happening immediately shine a big torch on it... so that it stops it. [...] We would spend a long time working very fast on what ever potential threats were coming up and targeting them straight away.²¹¹

We might see this metaphorical shining of a light as a form of counter surveillance. This was used to show up the falsity of news stories which attempted to undermine the camp. A well known example of this was the camps rebuttal of a story which claimed only ten per-cent of the tents were occupied at night. The Daily Mail (Kelly and Gayle 2011) used a thermal camera to evidence their claim. However the Occupiers hired the same camera and documented themselves going in and out of tents to show how most of these kept the heat contained therefore a thermal camera could not measure whether someone was inside. The press team were able to help highlight their side of the story in the Mirror (2011a), Guardian (Malik 2011a) and New Statesman (Eaton 2011a).

²⁰⁹ ibid

²¹⁰ interview with the author

²¹¹ ibid

However as the camp continued the City of London Corporation would attempt to use the press to present an image of Occupy London that would aid their attempts to evict the camp. On Saturday 19 November 2011, The City of London Corporation released the evidence it provided the high court of justice to support their eviction case. It included photographs of cans of alcohol, mugs of tea on the floor and what it states were puddles of urination. It also made a number of claims about drug use, needles and dog faeces. Numerous papers had commented on 'health' and 'drug' problems at Occupy London over the weekend. These included print articles from: The Guardian "Graffiti and substance abuse at St Paul's camp, says registrar" (Butt 2011:7); The Sun "St Paul's Camp 'Hell Of Drugs And Filth'" (Nash 2011:29); the Mail Online: "Desecration, defecation and class A drugs: Children found living in squalor at St Paul's protest camp" (Nelson 2011:n.p.); The Express "An unholy mess" (Rao 2011); The Daily Star "Dirty Protest" (Hall 2011) and "Peril of cathedral tent demo junkies" (Walker 2011:n.p.). Though, as Occupy LSX pointed out, the evidence these papers were using was a one-sided dossier of information collected to argue for an eviction in the court room.²¹²

The press team felt the worst attack came from the *Evening Standard* who attempted to frame of the camp as a haven of disease, squalor and drug use later in November. On 23 November the Standard's front page headline read: "St Paul's junkies a health hazard." (Dominiczak and Parsons 2011:1) Two large bullet points underneath this stated: "Bins for used needles installed outside cathedral" and "Drug-taking by tent protesters raises HIV fears". (ibid) The first line of the article claimed: "Escalating drug use at the St Paul's tent city has forced the local authority to install containers for the safe disposal of syringe needles, the Standard reveals today." (ibid) The article created an image of the Occupiers as hard drug takers and attempted to paint over Occupy's grievances through undermining the general character of the protesters.

²¹² These were given in an online statement via <https://occupylondon.org.uk/occupy-london-responds-to-the-evening-standard/>

The paper summarised and quoted the City of London corporation as saying “There are concerns the camp has become ‘a magnet for very vulnerable people’ including those living with HIV.” (ibid) This visualised the vulnerable as an unwanted ‘other’ or a pest, and stoked fears of HIV contagion. Furthermore claims from the Corporation that the alley near to St Paul’s was used as a “lavatory” for “urination and defecation” heightened the assertion that this was a “major issue” and “health hazard” (ibid).

The press team (PT) put out a press release rebuffing the Standard article the day after it appeared. They did so by deconstructing the way in which HIV prejudice²¹³ and stigma of homelessness had fed into the article and how this contradicted the *Standards* own supposed values. (PT 2011a)²¹⁴ They contrasted the article with the *Standards* own ‘dispossessed campaign’ which was set up to tackle “poverty, inequality and exclusion across the capital.”²¹⁵ In doing so they used the supposed moral conscious of the paper against itself. The press team also repositioned the *Standard* as being out of synch with the idea of balanced news reporting. They noted that the NUJ stated “Fox News-style coverage is not acceptable in Britain” (ibid) in response to articles written about Occupy London. This attempted to turn the tables on the *Evening Standard* by questioning their professional practice and their ability to impartially inform their readership. To show their reasonable nature the press team asked journalists to come and meet the welfare team and engage with their “health & safety and sanitation working groups.”

Their approach was to position themselves in a way that showed openness, accessibility and their democratic nature, all of which supported the image of Occupy LSX.²¹⁶ This overall approach seemed to stem the tide of the ‘story’ in

²¹³ As they state: “To invoke the spectre of an AIDS scare on the basis of unsubstantiated speculation is as unprofessional as it is inappropriate, coming as it does just a few days before World AIDS Day on 1st December.”

²¹⁴ See their press release at <https://occupylondon.org.uk/occupy-london-responds-to-the-evening-standard/>

²¹⁵ or so it says on its website - <http://www.dispossessedfund.org.uk/>

²¹⁶ “To reiterate: we are not afraid of difficult questions – in fact that, in a fundamental sense, is what we’re about. Occupy London is a diverse group of Londoners and supporters who have come

relation to HIV contagion. The next day the Evening Standard published a letter from Deborah Jack, CEO, National Aids Trust criticising their reporting of “HIV panic and Occupy London” In the letter Jack complains of what she calls the “ill-informed attempt to link HIV to the Occupy London protest outside St Paul's” (Jack 2011:63) She goes on to state that discarded needles although unpleasant have never been recorded as transmitting HIV.

On 12 December 2011 a press release was published from Occupy titled: “Welfare in the City – an update from Occupy London Stock Exchange.” (PT 2011b:n.p.) The Occupy statement explains how they recruited a number of professional bodies to assist them with welfare including linking for referrals and support to Shelter, Broadway Homeless Charity and to the Psychotherapists and Counsellors for Social Responsibility. The Psychotherapists and Counsellors for Social Responsibility detail how a group of volunteers including psychiatrists, GPs and social workers as well as counsellors and psychotherapists had been working with camp residents to provide a welfare service to the whole community. They end with a suggestion that: “the church and the local social services might consider coming along and working with us” In the press release the press team also make a similar statement:

what a sad and telling state of affairs that St Paul's and the City of London social services, in their witness statements last week supporting the Corporation of London's eviction plans for the protest camp, evoke the 'shocking' spectre of 'street life' emerging in their wealthy, virtually resident-free backyard. Two institutions of the Square Mile, supposedly sharing a vocation of care and support for the most socially and psychologically vulnerable in this disgracefully unequal society of ours, cannot wait to clear their doorstep of one of the most thoughtful and inspiring challenges to global greed and corruption in decades – by demonising the most disenfranchised of the protest camp's community. (PT 2011a:n.p.)

Here the care that the camp has tried to provide is contrasted with the actions of the City of London Corporation and the church. It implied much of the criticism

together to open up a space for dialogue challenging social and economic inequality in the fight for global democracy.”

within previous articles and the legal bundle was actually highlighting the failure of state and religious services in regards to welfare. To highlight this further the press release details that the welfare team are on call more than 12 hours per day and aim to be a 24 hour service. They detail how the toilet facilities were put in place by the camp costing them £180 daily. Overall they show how in many ways they are doing the social work job of the City and church for them. TC states how after these press releases came out he and other members of the press team had a meeting with the managing director of the *Evening Standard*. As TC states:

“We pointed out to him that we didn’t actually in that story have a right to reply. Within that story I was quoted but without knowing the full story and we asked for a right to reply. And it was agreed on any other story [...] we would get a fair hearing. It just opened a door to have a communication channel with them.”²¹⁷

This communication channel, it was hoped, would provide a chance for the press team to put their aims, opinions, and responses across. They wanted to be able to correct the facts when they saw them to be wrong or to discuss issues related to stories with the journalists before they came out. As evident from later articles the aggressive tone taken towards Occupy LSX did soften slightly at this point and the press team were given much more print space to make their case.²¹⁸ However they could not stem the tide of attack from all newspapers. Some were able to continue to encompass an image of Occupy in their horizon of thought.

For example on the 16th December *The Mail on Sunday* continued to develop frames which attempted to undermine Occupy London, with their article “A very seedy Christmas at St Paul’s” In utilising mental images of ‘seediness’ and ‘Christmas’ the Mail to mobilise an attack which works to contrast the supposed failed aims of Occupy with an all knowing divine establishment. As the author states: “It is the protesters’ inability to get their own camp in order, literally, that

²¹⁷ Interview with author

²¹⁸ see “Protesters say St Paul’s camp will be scaled down in the new year” (19 Dec), Protesters invade courthouse before singalong on St Paul’s steps (21 Dec), Anti-capitalist protesters bank £30,000 donations (6 Jan), Courthouse squatters are poised to start ‘greed trials’ (9 Jan) Take us to the river (11 Jan) - Although there was a light dig at the movement in the editorial on the 17 January 2012, up until the eviction there was nothing like the type of reporting which the Occupy press team had condemned previously.

so undermines their claim that they can guide society to a better place” (Rawstorne 2011:n.p.). Again this presents the supposed internal contradictions as invalidating their intentions.

The attempts to work with the vulnerable people are derided in the *Mail* article as idealistic thinking. The reporter writes: “such faith in the human condition is rather endearing — if entirely misplaced.” Here the patronising tone of the article attempts to disparage the work done at the camp as naïve and misdirected. The spectre of violence is brought out as he says protesters are “threatened verbally and physically” (Rawstorne 2011:n.p.) the protesters are visualised as too inept to deal with these dark forces in society. Here the supposed naivety of working for a better world through direct action is underlined, and those who are vulnerable are individualised as being ‘bad’ in and of themselves.

The proprietary livestream

While attempts were made to work inside the traditional media some Occupy LSX activists found ways of working inside the proprietary livestream to extend the aims of the protest.²¹⁹ The successful use of live streaming was observed by a number of activists who took part in the March and April 2011 occupation of Trafalgar square. This might be seen to follow what Thorburn (2017:424) argues is the livestream’s ability to “circumvent power while at the same time constituting sites of resistance.” During those occupations TC one of the initial organisers of Occupy saw the ability to use the livestream as a shield from police force. As he said to me he noticed that live recording “really freaked the police out and they backed off... cus everything that was happening was being recorded.” He also noted that this could equally be used against protesters in court if their direct action was deemed illegal.

²¹⁹ Equally before the Occupy LSX protests, the power of video was clearly seen by protesters in the case of Ian Tomlinson. Here it broke frames created by both the police and certain established media outlets. The filming of Climate Camp being kettled and then batoned by police once trapped had also shown how the filming of aggressive police tactics could be used as evidence to contradict the negative framing of protesters. This was also used by the IPCC (2009) to condemn the policing of Climate Camp in the City

Furthermore a number of activists were following day to day events from Occupy Wall Street via livestream in the run up to the UK version. This, as Kavada and Treré (2019:8) argue became part of Occupy's "radical transparency" as an "open and real-time window into the movement." Thorburn (2017:438) sees this as the livestream's ability to provide a radical accessibility which "deepens socially reproductive solidarities across and between movements." This was crucial in distributing the alternative vision of Occupy. As one of the initial protesters at Occupy, T stated:

For me I had been watching OWS and I had been absolutely fascinated with all the live streams coming out of there. And I had no idea about the political system or the banking system not a clue. But I started watching this and through their live streams I kind of learnt what was going on. And when I found out I was like they are doing what? The bankers are doing what? I was fuming and I was thinking I wish that would come here. (Drift Report 2016)

Here the livestream could be crucial in connecting people to the ideas behind Occupy and preparing a vision of what might be able to be achieved if the framework for this protest was implemented in the UK. Equally Isabelle Koksal who wrote about her experience of joining the camp on the first day noted that it was internet video that had provided her with the opportunity to view this protest framework and motivated her decision to join Occupy LSX. As she states: "I was excited about the idea of a protest where we would not go home at the end of the day, but where we would remain for as long as we deemed necessary" (Koksal 2012:446) Through video the durational and communal ideas in Occupy could be distributed to her. Here was a way momentum could build for the protest.

As Sociologist Cristiana Olcese writes the live stream was used as a form of "connective action" which could "reinforce the goals and identities of the group" (2014: 278) The livestream also provided a wider reach for the protest making it accessible to those who could not attend. This continued the idea of direct democracy and transparency that was crucial to the aims of the protest. (Cammaerts 2018:130) In this way it became a part of the material elements

which made up Occupy LSX's 'protest culture' (Gledhill 2012:345). However as Kavada and Treré (2019:10) write some at Occupy LSX saw the livestream "operate as a form of self-surveillance" and instigated "no photography" rules at some sensitive meetings. However what Kavada and Treré (2019:1) see as the livestreams "near-total visibility" was not just curbed by those who feared surveillance, it was also curtailed by its material capacity.

The mobile data needed for livestream video came at a cost. Smart phones had the capability to shoot video live using their limited data packages and computer web cams could use data packages on attached dongles, but this could be expensive and there were limitations to the 3G internet it connected to. J who had been supporting the J18 livestream at bckspc in 1999 had wanted to help the protesters at Occupy LSX and had attended the St Pauls protest do provide some technical support. As J tells me the data packages were much smaller and more expensive in 2011/12 limiting their use compared to the present day. As he states: "You could do bursts of things and upload stuff but you'd quickly expire the content of your data card." He had wanted to find a reliable fibre connection to attach themselves to, but in the middle of the church yard it was very difficult to establish that connection.²²⁰ As he states: "everytime I'd set up something with a local vender or a local shop keeper or something it was quickly spoilt." Without being able to drag wires between the buildings and the church yard he set up a dish to connect to different vender's wifi.

The fragile nature of this meant that it was often disassembled and moved when connections dropped. He recounts how he attempted to connect to the wifi of a neighbouring solicitors office via the roof only to be thrown out by security. As he states what they really needed was a "sustained data connection" but in the end it was "very difficult to establish a reliable service for adhoc use for free, because in the end you'd exhaust someone's patience." This required a constant negotiation to get these heavy data video files streamed. In the end others felt as if compressing the size via lower quality web cameras attached to laptops was an imperfect but functional solution for longer streaming times.

²²⁰ Unfortunately Starbucks wifi did not reach that far

There were also other material difference between the live stream used for Occupy and the one used at the J18. At Occupy LSX laptops, webcams and phones would be connected to off the shelf proprietary web streaming services including Bambuser and Livestream.²²¹ According to Odih (2013:195) Bambuser was utilised to livestream video from phones and Livestream was used and semi-hacked so that it could collate feeds from laptops, webcams and phones recording the protest. This allowed a wide mix of live streams from a variety of sources to be embedded on Occupy LSX's webpage. Both Bambuser and Livestream (previously Mogulus) were launched originally as free streaming services with private investors soon heavily funding them. As their ability to showcase live video was developing and finding new commercial pathways protesters were using these platforms to achieve their own aims.

Equally the use of the phone via Bambuser and Livestream to create limited live streams showed the potential of the hand held device, even if the material reality often could not quite provide an unlimited use. Working inside these platforms allowed activists to capture and broadcast video live without the heavily supported technical infrastructure that would be needed to create the backend technology from scratch. Sociologist Pamela Odih called this "produsages" where web technologies were semi-hacked for new purposes, allowing activists to use web technologies to enable alternative use (2013:197).²²² As she states this is "counter-intuitive to the commercial programming of the social network technologies" (2013:203).

Yet while this did allow activists to shift technologies to be used for their own purposes it also provided insights to commercial enterprises allowing them to

²²¹ In 2011 Facebook, Twitter and other social media sites had not started embedding user livestreaming as part of their service. Facebook live was launched in April 2016 (FB News Room 2016) and Periscope livestream was bought by Twitter for its own use in March 2015 (Shontell 2015). While Youtube was publically testing their livestream capacity in 2011, this was only on a beta site which allowed "certain YouTube partners with accounts in good standing to stream live content on YouTube." (YouTube 2011) It was open more publically in December 2013 (YouTube 2013) but it wasn't until 2017 that Youtube added a livestream button to its mobile app. (Betters 2017)

²²² Odih specifically discusses this in relation to the hacking of the programmes which livestreamed video for Occupy LSX and allowed individuals watching to flick between cameras

leverage the visibility they had in protest use for other purposes. The Bambuser platform was used to create a channel called the Occupynewsnetwork. In many ways the Occupy project was in line with the origins of the Bambuser platform itself. As communications scholar Michael Krona and Bambuser founder Måns Adler write Bambuser was really “a mission to democratize a technology.” (2014:323) Bambuser was started in 2006 as a ‘participatory design’ project in Sweden which attempted to further the democratic use of live video broadcasting. It attempted to wrestle the monopoly of live broadcasting away from large news corporations. Its mission was to “symbolically put a broadcasting van in everyone’s pocket through the use of cellular phones and computers” which could go “from anywhere to anyone”(2014:323). The authors write that Bambuser was created for an “idealistic purpose” (2014:325) one that would have “ambitions to bring democracy and innovation closer together” (2014:326) Here they hoped to allow more equal societal relations to be enabled through use of ‘media technology’ and ‘user driven approach’ which would provide ‘voice to marginalised groups’ (2014:325-6).

Its ‘live video community’ had begun in 2007, (Bambuser 2018) with what they called a ‘freemium’ pricing model that allowed a free service with additional extras charged for. However from the start this was a project that was initiated with “Norwegian venture capital” (2014:327). For Bambuser over the initial period of use “user experience was continuously evaluated,” (ibid) as users produced different types of live video and attached different technological imaging devices to the platform. As this went on the design of the platform changed and new functions were added to accommodate users. While this provided a community service in the short to medium term, I will argue in the longer span this would also act as a form of surveillance examining the use of this technology in a commons for the eventual benefit of market forces.

The authors describe how the occupation of Tahrir Square, (in Cairo Egypt) was videoed live via Bambuser providing visual real time verification of events. They detail how this was used by Sveriges Television as evidence of the events happening on the ground live showing the impact of the demonstrations

(2014:329). This live video, they argue, provided a voice for individuals opposing the Mubarak regime and therefore aiding the international support for the embodied protesters on the ground (2014:330). While non networked video and images collected could be deleted, if activists were arrested, Krona and Adler highlight that in using Bambuser these images went straight to the server providing evidence of police violence (2014:331).

Yet they also problematize the use of the platform as a straightforward tool of emancipation. While they evidence its use as a tool of 'sousveillance' they also show how Bambuser was used by the Egyptian police to record events themselves (2014:335). Equally they discuss the negatives involved in those videoing themselves and geotagging their own location when trying to fight oppressive regimes (2014:336-7). Yet the dichotomy for the authors seems to be between emancipatory liberation via sousveillance and repressive police structures of surveillance. While I would agree that this is a large part of the problem there might also be another aspect that they are missing out on.²²³

This I would argue is an aspect of subsumptive surveillance that Bambuser itself became a part of - the relationship between developing an emancipatory technology and that technology being absorbed by market forces. What was a line of flight out of controls via media ownership becomes reterritorialised back into a new business model. One could argue this is in many ways what has happened to Bambuser itself. In 2017 Bambuser announced they were closing their 'social community'. All non-paying customers would be denied entry to the platform as of January 2018 and the 'premium' customers would not have their set-term contracts renewed. As they stated: "With the shutdown of the Community, we are not leaving the user-generated content space, we are simply transitioning from being a direct supplier, to be a facilitator, providing live video solutions to businesses and enterprises around the world." (Bambuser 2018)

²²³ While they mention Marxist inspired theorists, their critique of capitalism this is done in a context of 'expanding [...] technological design in order to integrate oppositional (alternative) voices.' (2017:339)

Becoming a direct supplier meant providing livestream facilities for some of the very media conglomerates that Bambuser were trying to unseat – including Sky News and MTV. Here Bambuser become as they state a: “company’s realtime video intranet” (Bambuser 2019a) providing the backend capacity for streaming encapsulated in their branded website or station. Bambusers latest move is into the world of ‘live video shopping’ Here they hope to “bridge the gap between the offline experience and the online convenience” with a promise that it “converts engagement into immediate sales” This ‘solution’ creates a ‘video pipeline’ (Bambuser 2019b) which can be integrated into shopping or other apps. Bambuser assert this video link will increase sales: “Asking questions, chatting with other viewers, liking products and making the host zoom in on a certain detail will make ‘add to cart’ easier than ever before.” (Bambuser 2019c) Here the promise of the livestream is driven straight back into a new business model.

While Bambuser have claimed to launch the ‘world’s first app for mobile live broadcasting’ (Bambuser 2019d) they also state that they were enabling users to embed live video on Facebook “some six years before the launch of Facebook Live!” (Bambuser 2018) In this way not only has Bambuser integrated its own platform into a new market model, they also helped to incorporate the livestream into a platform which embeds so-called ‘surveillance capitalism’ by default. Here the years of observing use values of its community are problematized through the platforms commercialisation and the delivery of the livestream to organisation who commodify user’s data as part of their business plan. The voices which were once supposedly democratised are now enmeshed with further surveillance of their activities from the forces and relations of capital. With individual anonymity compromised on platforms such as Facebook an ease of surveillance by state services is allowed.

It is clear that by working inside these platforms protesters at Occupy LSX were able to extend their aims. But there were also ways protesters using the livestream extended the aims of capital. Bambuser still has on its ‘investment case’ page its role in protest, stating: “Bambuser was one of the premiere sources of verified user generated live video from the Arab spring” (Bambuser 2019d).

The protest livestream first observed in 1999 would now two decades later be used to gather investment for proprietary platforms. Protesters extended the visibility of this platform and members using these proprietary sites made it more attractive to clients like the Sony who it collaborated 2013 or future investor since going public in 2017. Rather than democratising media ownership it centralises it in new ways.

Using methods extracted from 'participatory design', which aims to include users in the design process, platforms such as Bambuser actively observe the use of their interface instigating changes based on this. Therefore while protesters use these platforms to communicate and extend their reach, this is also observed and findings from this used to further the economic potential for these companies. While at times this can provide further freedoms for activists it also provides new vulnerabilities. The integration of the protest livestream into Facebook and Youtube mixes video with identifying data that can be attached to protesters making them more vulnerable. Equally it further mines the human for new wants needs and desires to be exploited. This deepening surveillance creates inroads for capital to insert itself in daily life.

In summary as of 2019 two of the main proprietary systems used by Occupy LSX in 2011/12 have broken with their original community orientation. Livestream has been bought by Vimeo and works on a business to business model. Bambuser now provides facilities directly to shopping companies or professional media outlets who wish to use livestreaming services. The content that was recorded by Occupy LSX has now been deleted from these platforms as they moved to new business models. Links from the Occupy LSX webpage to livestreams are now broken. As the protest livestream become embedded in social media platforms we might heed the words of Thorburn who argues for a "careful engagement" with this technology that can disengage when it becomes "a weapon against those same movements and struggles" (2017:438).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined how those initiating Occupy LSX attempted to utilise the established boundaries of police formations, traditional news outlets and proprietary platforms. Working on the inside of the kettle with knowledge of previous direct action, police boundaries could in part be used to help establish the durational protest. Traditional news framing devices could be dislodged through press strategy and visibility was garnered through journalists and broadcasters. The proprietary livestream became integrated as a form of counter surveillance and as an extension of the protest form itself. Yet does working within established structures create its own containment? And who has the ability to work safely along these lines and within such space?

While the dislodging of established frames within traditional media outlets can be seen to challenge certain conceptions of the protest, this can be delicate and temporal. It relied on a singularity of voice that at times put it at odds with the procedures of direct democracy. Furthermore its 'image' was undermined by more right wing outlets who ideologically opposed the protesters aims. These could be countered strategically for a time but they also showed a certain ideological thresholds, which were difficult to cross. Mainly that an essentially anti-capitalist protest will face certain problems being depicted in particular essentially pro-capitalist outlets. How this is negotiated is an ongoing problem and continually debated. Though essentially I would argue that while visibility is important it must be weighted against the aims and integrity of action.

The livestream has become a complex site of contention. I argue that although it can provide a wider dispersal of information and extend the aims of direct action it also deepens surveillance and inroads for capital to insert itself into the lives of activists. While allowing aspects of counter-surveillance it also creates new inroads for police and subsumptive surveillance. Capital needs to overcome boundaries, to break down the old and create new technical structures. While lines of flight out of established technical forms create new possibilities for emancipatory freedom they can also be reterritorialised by market forces and

used to build new repressive structures of surveillance. Revolt needs to be aware of this, using these innovations while they can but constantly assessing the vulnerabilities they create in order to understand when their limitations have been reached.

Chapter 8 - Designing out 'extreme protest' after Occupy – everyday policing and the synching of sight

This chapter presents the first detailed account of Project Servator's origins.²²⁴ Project Servator was established by the City of London Police after Occupy London as a combined protection against terrorism, criminality and 'extreme protest'. Servator was trialled in the City of London between November and December 2012 (City of London Police 2014b). It was first rolled out as the basis for policing tactics in the City in February 2014. I provide an account of Servator's initial development out of the rise and slow deterioration of the Ring of Steel. I focus on how the change in police visual surveillance systems within the Square Mile worked to further design out 'extreme protest' and control space for the circulation of capital. Through examining archival evidence and its own visual campaign materials I argue that Project Servator attempts to create a fluidity between police and 'public', using a variety of methods to transplant sight and in turn shape perceptions. Finally I show how Servator is being taken up nationally and internationally and developing links with the corporate counter insurgency.

The Ring of Steel

In the aftermath of the Provisional IRA attacks on the City in the early 1990s, the CoLP implemented specific surveillance and security formations which relied on what was then cutting edge new visual technology. These integrated private security cameras facing public space with police and traffic CCTV cameras. Coaffee (2000:116-117) saw these developments as a process of containment and deterrence on the part of the CoLP. The main integrated formation which included and heavily relied upon CCTV cameras was the so-called Ring of Steel.²²⁵ Erected in 1993 the police procedure, imported from the streets of Belfast,

²²⁴ While Rizwaan Sabir (2017:213) mentions Servator in relation to Occupy London, and Paul Baines (2017) worked with police to develop Servator's ideas further, neither explore this operations origins in depth

²²⁵ The Ring of Steel integrates policing with the counter insurgency. This history is bound up with the colonial relations between the UK and Ireland, where tactics used in other colonies were brought to the North. See: Roger Faligot's (1983) *Britain's Military Strategy in Ireland: The Kitson Experiment*; John Newsinger's (1995) 'British security policy in Northern Ireland', (1995) 'From counter-insurgency to internal security: Northern Ireland 1969-1992' and Newsinger's (2015) *British Counterinsurgency*

worked to limit entrances and exits around the City to seven (Coaffee 2000:129). At each of these seven entrance points police installed check-points for traffic (Coaffee 2004:205). Two cameras were mounted at each checkpoint; one to capture the driver and the other for the licence plate (Coaffee 2000:121). These very visible forms of observation and stop checks were used to monitor and regulate the border around the Square Mile. This then became a strategy of fortification based on the protection of territory (Coaffee 2003a:211).

A number of academics including Graham and Marvin (2001), Coaffee (2000, 2003a, 2003b) and Norris and Armstrong (1999) saw this as a process in which the City further dislocated itself from the rest of London, especially the poorer areas which surrounded it. As such this supported a “splintering urbanism” (Graham and Marvin 2001:233) that fragmented cities. In part this could be interpreted as protecting what Jon Coaffee called the “global enclaves”; urban financial districts that embrace “inclusion in the globalisation process while at the same time excluding themselves from the rest of the city through their territorial boundedness.” (Coaffee 2000:115). In this way the City both needed to enclose itself from certain angles while simultaneously creating flows from others. Yet this type of territorial boundedness followed a move towards a further mixing of public and private security apparatuses.²²⁶

The City Corporation and Police utilised business to pioneer a public private partnership of cameras called CameraWatch in 1993. This entailed a push for the business community to install CCTV and to deliver 24 hour monitoring capabilities (Home Office 1994:28). By 2003 Jon Coaffee approximated there

²²⁶ The growth of private involvement in UK crime prevention from the 1980s onwards has been widely documented (see Bright 1991; Crawford 1994; Garland 2001; Jock 1991). These new local inter-agency partnerships often chose the implementation of CCTV systems as a means of achieving their aims due to substantial sums of money provided by the Home Office (Norris and Armstrong 1999:38-39) and as a way of ironing out institutional difference. Legal scholar Crawford saw these partnerships as the growing corporatisation of criminal justice which further created an insider / outsider dichotomy in the interests of those within the scheme (1994:497-517). As he states: “The prevailing insider/outsider conception of ‘community’, encourages the building of physical barriers against, and modes of surveillance over, ‘outsiders’. The types of offending behaviour prioritized are thus largely ‘public’ displays. Those forms of offending which are less visible - because they take place in ‘private’, behind closed doors or in locked boardrooms - generally fail to get on the crime prevention agenda.” (1994:507) Surveillance of the ‘criminal community’ was seen by Crawford to be pushed to the outside of financial infrastructures.

were more than 1500 CCTV cameras which were part of this program. (Coaffee 2003b:78). The attempt here was to cover public space in CCTV and to allow a cooperation to take place between public and private services in visual surveillance in order to deter and detect offenses and counter terrorism (Coaffee 2000:122). In creating Camerawatch as a partnership the CoLP and the CoL (as their commissioning authority) hoped to get the private sector to join forces with them through finding common interests in security.

Implemented on the grounds of counter-terrorism, a supposed reduction in crime was seen as an added benefit of the Ring of Steel when it was first implemented in the 1990s (Coaffee 2000:126). Yet during an interview with Jeffrey Rosen in 2001 for *the New York Times* the City Police admitted they had never actually caught any terrorists using CCTV technology. As Jon Coaffee (2009: 226) details it is the “wider applications” of the Ring of Steel, such as crime prevention that have led to its continuation.

CCTV and an aging infrastructure

Since armed guards were taken off the check points in 1994, the Ring of Steel as a network of cameras around the periphery of the City has continued though it is mired in technological difficulties. A 2013 report by the Commissioner of Police entitled *Ring of Steel- vision and aspirations- update* (City of London Police 2013b) detailed the urgent need to overhaul the project’s infrastructure even though some upgrades and improvements have been made since the changeover to digital recorders in 2003. It warned that the current system is “now becoming outdated and is no longer cost effective to keep updating.” (2013b) As the report states installing a new technological infrastructure would also open up the Ring of Steel to “exploit new advances in for example, facial recognition or camera focused behavioural analysis.” (2013b)

Giving an overview of the deteriorating infrastructure the report detailed a number of issues with the current setup. Significantly, as the City of London were the first in the country to use this technology, their ANPR cameras read rates were low and under the current national standard. This means that their cameras

did not accurately capture as many vehicle registrations as other newer models. Without accurately capturing the license plates of the cars the system cannot run the plates through the DVLA database and identify the driver or owner.

Furthermore, the report stated the current batch of CCTV cameras used had poor image quality. Because of this it was more difficult to identify suspects. In comparison to the new crop of camera technology, the older models currently being utilised were thought to be on the verge of becoming obsolete. They also made it more difficult to sync systems with video analytics that could identify faces or irregular activity. All these front end issues were having as the report stated: “a detrimental impact on potential evidence [and] intelligence gathering from hostile reconnaissance and crime.” (2013b)

On the back end the report stated that large, aging servers holding information captured by the Ring of Steel and its cameras were costing £65,000 per year in terms of upkeep. This technology was identified as outdated and ineffective in terms of cost. Problematically it took up huge amounts of space and required constant air conditioning to stop the servers from overheating.

The report states how the CoLP were working with the Home Office facility CAST to decide on the best way forward for Ring of Steel upgrades. This was to help them develop as they put it “an upgraded footprint that incorporates developing technologies.” (2013b) My interviewee from the Home Office, UT, detailed how many of the issues outlined, then affecting the City of London, are representative of problems for local authorities across the country. CCTV has undergone a number of changes over the last 20 years. UT asserts, with police and local authority systems, in many places CCTV hasn’t seen a straightforward shift from analogue to digital but as he says “different bits of the system are transitioning at different times.”²²⁷

²²⁷ VT says there are a variety of different types of CCTV systems which have various factors attached to their development. Outside of personal use there are the smaller systems in shops or corner stores, the mid-size systems in supermarkets or small shopping malls and the larger systems often attached to local and police authorities which are dotted around town centres throughout the country. In small systems changing cabling, cameras and recorders might not be

For the larger systems, like those used for the police and local authorities there are three components to think about – the cameras, the transmission system and the recording units. Each is in a separate place. The cameras are generally attached to buildings or large posts on the street or in places of public access. The transmission systems are cables which attach the cameras to the recorders. These are generally wired underground beneath the pavement and / or road. The recording systems are in control rooms which can be located in police stations or separately.

As UT states the simplest part to change are the recorders in the control rooms which can accept connections from analogue cameras. The wires and connections to the cameras stay but the screens and recorders go.²²⁸ This was true for the City of London Police. The 2013 Ring of Steel report states how the last extension and upgrade in 2003 included new digital recording facilities and servers, as the technological structure of video recording moved away from VHS cassettes and towards hard discs. As UT details, the most difficult parts to replace are the cabling under the street. UT states:

It's not the cost of the cables it's the cost of digging everything up and installing new ones. That's the limiting factor. So in a lot of cases you've still got analogue cameras at the front end because you've still got analogue cabling even if that's still connected to a digital video recorder. Many camera distributors are now offering IP cameras which are wireless.²²⁹

Indeed a number of the private security operatives²³⁰ I have spoken to discuss their use of such devices. However again UT brings up the issue of infrastructure: "You've got to look at what is the network infrastructure to carry those pictures

that difficult. However with local authorities and police installed larger systems (interview with the author)

²²⁸ As other contributors to my study from private security firms stated, as VHS tapes began to be harder to buy the incentive to switch to digital on the recording end became more of an imperative. Equally as the cost of this equipment fell throughout the first decade of the 21st century the switch to digital recording became widespread.

²²⁹ Interview with the author

²³⁰ These include Operations Manager at a private security firm who works within the City of London and a Director of Marketing at a security products company who supply a number of private security companies within the City of London.

[...] If you just rely on free, license free transmission, it can't cope or can't cope reliably with constant streaming of video from a wireless camera."²³¹ There are different licensed and license free transmission bands that one could use to securely transfer video. However, from UT's point of view for local authorities the most reliable cost-efficient connection at the present time still comes from fibre optic cable. Therefore cabling, to him, is still an issue regardless of whether the camera wirelessly plugs into its port. UT claims that the type of money needed to refresh equipment, regardless of the way this is done, is beyond the abilities of a number of local authorities.²³² So whereas this technology was once invested in highly across the country with a series of government grants and initiatives, major investment decades down the line is now required. This has become an issue for a number of councils, including the City of London as a local and police authority.²³³

Interestingly, in the previously mentioned Ring of Steel report (2013b), the 'reputation' of the City of London is often alluded to. Referring to the initial instillation of the Ring of Steel the report states how this operation reduced the "threat of reputational harm". (2013b) Here combatting the *fear* of attack is crucial. Because of the perceived success in utilizing CCTV and ANPR cameras, the report states, "much of this was replicated by law enforcement nationally and globally." (2013b) This gave the City, the report says, "the current reputation as a world leader in security and safety." (2013b) This idea of security instilling confidence in the City as a low risk environment seems to be of great importance to the CoL and CoLP. Additionally, promoting this cutting edge vision of high tech protectionism as a deterrent seems a vital part of this. However, the report details how this reputation is now at risk. It states: "Reputationally, [sic] the 'Ring of Steel' does not have the presence in the minds of those committing crime it once

²³¹ Interview with the author

²³² As he states: "You've got the existing local authorities CCTV infrastructure most of which is now quite old and in a lot of cases the authorities don't have the – certainly in the current financial climate – don't have the money to upgrade [...] But increasingly the infrastructure will age and bits will probably fall over. At which point upgrades will become necessary, but as the government is somewhat strapped for cash at the moment I don't think there is going to be a massive flow of finance to upgrade local authority CCTV."

²³³ It may be that new investment in 5G networks will make this more stable, however at the time of writing in 2019 many still see this as a problem.

had, thereby reducing its impact as a deterrent. This is through a combination of deteriorating infrastructure and marketing.” (2013b)

As CCTV technology on the ground ages, its value as a deterrent is conceptualized as lessening. The Ring of Steel as a preventive force is thought to be weakening as holes emerge in its structure. In the 2013 report a number of options were floated for the new refreshed Ring of Steel as well as supporting measures to assist in its aims. The report suggests there should be an infrastructural upgrade to an Internet Protocol (IP) digital network which would either use fibre optics cables or a wireless system. In doing this both front end cameras and control room equipment would be renewed. This would also allow the police to, as it says, “access private and third party cameras in the City [in real time].” (2013b) Furthermore it would allow access to developing technologies, which the report says, would include facial recognition, biometrics and video analytics.

Yet even though the technology exists for them to implement these changes there doesn't seem to be a drive towards a quick fix option. Not least because as the report states: “This is a long term programme of work which will result in significant capital investment.” (2013b) The idea of this refresh is that it will be able to incorporate technological changes which will continue to occur for at least a decade. As it states: “The development and consideration for investment into new infrastructure will provide a system that is technologically advanced and operationally fit for purpose for the next 10 to 15 years.” (2013b) This ‘future-proofing’ coupled with the economic costs have meant developments on this project have taken time to come to fruition.

Additionally, the digital infrastructure across the City has been seen as a limiting factor to this full scale revamp of the Ring of Steel. The *City Telecommunications Strategy report 2014* (City of London Corporation 2014a), by the Chamberlain and the City of London Surveyor states the need to improve fibre optic connectivity and wireless speeds for data roaming across the Square Mile. As the report states wireless broadband “suffers issues of capacity and reliability for both voice and data, with areas of the City lacking acceptable coverage.” (2014a) Furthermore, it

states, although fibre optic broadband is excellent in some areas of the City of London, in other parts access need to be improved. Even in some areas covered by fibre optic networks “there is considerable frustration across all stakeholder and customer groups around the provision of reliable fast connectivity.” (2014a)

It seems there was a problem with renewing these fixed surveillance objects in space. This may play into what David Harvey calls the “dialectic between the territorial logic and the capitalistic logic.” (2014:154) Harvey outlines this as the contradiction between the state’s need for fixity and capitals need for movement (2014:155). While in the capitalist state the two forms need each other they can also pull in different directions due to this contradiction. If as Harvey suggests national security has turned into “permanent feeding trough for capitalist ambitions” (2014:157), then this contradiction might be seen to play out here too. As such the fixity of surveillance objects can only survive if they are able to continue to circulate capital through their constant renewal. If the state – or in this case the City – can not produce the infrastructural funds to facilitate this flow of capital through fixed surveillance objects, mobile forms will be found. As such mobile surveillance objects might present themselves as a better option.

Mobile working and CCTV

Mobility has become a key aspect of visual surveillance and of CCTV in the City. In the previously mentioned *Ring of Steel- vision and aspirations- update report* (City of London Police 2013b) which discusses the deterioration of this operation’s technology, it is stated that the Ring of Steel is “not the only option to achieve all of the Force’s strategic aims.” It lists a number of operations which could ‘support’ the Ring of Steel utilizing various aspects of mobility.

The CoLP invested in 22 ‘in-car’ ANPR and video systems within police vehicles. These as they state provide “provide flexibility in tactical deployments at hotspot locations.” (2013b) Rather than being fixed in space these cameras utilize aspects of the police car’s agency to move within the area. Investing in these also allows upgrades in technology on a smaller scale which can record independently or synch with larger CCTV / ANPR formations. The images taken from ANPR

cameras feed back into in-car systems which allow them to check license-plates against known offenders.

Their 2012-2013 CoLP annual report (City of London Police 2013a) states that the in-car cameras have the capability to stream live video to a control room if necessary. This will as the report asserts, allow police to “manage pursuits and improve the command of public order events [...] from areas beyond the reach of current static CCTV cameras.” (2013a) The 2013 Ring of Steel update report also details the testing of ANPR cameras by individual officers on foot. This mobile application allows individual officers themselves to utilize ANPR technology on the go. It also, as the report outlines, provides more intelligence for remaining officers after the last comprehensive spending review cut numbers. As the report states: “reduced numbers of officers means the Force needs to work smarter.” (2013b) This concept of descending cameras down to the level of individual officers has also been seen with other equipment. The CoLP’s Annual Report 2013-14 (City of London Police 2014c) details how a limited trial was in place with officers wearing body worn video cameras.

This use of body worn video technology is now becoming more widespread. Through the 2014/15 Home Office’s Innovation fund eight forces including the CoLP were given more than £4m to share amongst them on this technology. This has also paralleled the uptake of body worn video by a number of other forces across the UK. Significantly the Metropolitan Police Service of London announced on their website in November 2015 that 22,000 body worn video devices were to be given to officers over the next three years. The Met claim: “Once rolled out, the cameras will be in use by more officers in a single city than anywhere else in the world to date.” (Metropolitan Police 2015)

When I questioned UT, my interviewee from the Home Office, about the technological operation of these cameras, he stated the majority of forces only locally record the video. What this means is that there is a hard drive attached to the body worn camera. At the end of an officer’s shift they would transfer what they had recorded onto the designated police storage system. According to UT

they are not live or monitored in real time in a control room. Again this is a decision made because of costing and infrastructural issues.²³⁴

However just because body worn video (BWV) might not be streamed does not mean this solves all the infrastructural issues. According to an April 2015 article in Techworld magazine by Charlotte Jee the CoLP purchased 178 BWV cameras from Taser. Jee writes that these Taser cameras, named Axon, were bought with a one year subscription to evidence.com cloud service. Again having the option to record individual technology off the CoLP's overused servers might have seemed like an excellent interim option at the time. Jee quotes Chief Superintendent Dave Lawes as saying: "The City of London is currently undergoing a transformation in how we use technology to assist us with keeping the City safe [...] We're excited about TASER's end-to-end solution that allows our police force the flexibility to integrate with existing and future technology." (Jee 2015:n.p.)

Yet by August 2015, in retrospect this excitement might have seemed premature. A Sky News website article by Gerard Tubb (2015) announced as its headline: "Security Fears Over Police Body Cameras." As Tubb's article detailed security experts asserted Taser stored its video on an unsecure cloud. At the time officials

²³⁴ As part of a separate limited trial the City of London Police did attempt to live stream video from officer's body worn vests mixing this with information from in-car CCTV at their control room. Xtralis, a company that develops safety and security solutions, stated on their website, in January 2015, that they would be developing a partnership with the City of London Police. The project would examine how best to transmit live audio/video feeds from officers on the ground and police vehicles. The website post quotes Adrian Leppard, Commissioner of the City of London Police as saying: "Xtralis approached the City of London Police to understand how we operate and how they could help our mission. Xtralis was quick to demonstrate a promising solution that could provide us live video and audio feeds from vehicles and officer-worn vests direct to our central monitoring stations." (Xtralis 2015a) This project however, as Commissioner Leppard stated, was still being perfected. On the Xtralis website home page a Command and Control Solutions video attempts to show how its products "enhance the effectiveness of first responders" Shots of the City of London Police and their control room are displayed as the voice over states: "Xtralis command and control solutions are designed [...] to transmit live high definition video and bio directional audio over any network [...] reliable transmission is the key and an Xtralis speciality." (Xtralis 2015b) As Channel 4 News reported on their website in January 2015 this trial with Xtralis lasted a month. Its aim, according to the C4 news report by Geoff White (2015), was to test technology which allowed the CoLP to stream video and audio from police body worn vests and from 3rd party CCTV from consenting shops and companies. This streamed video could then be received by individual officers with mobile devices and by central control rooms. What this would allow is a mix of video input from a variety of subjective view points. Yet due to costing issues this live streaming of video from body cams as of the time of writing in 2019 these have not yet taken place on a wide scale.

from the City of London Police assured Tubb (2015) they were, “working to ensure that footage is retained and stored securely” with the majority of forces who used these cameras admitting they would now be storing the footage on their own servers.

Operation Servator

In the *Ring of Steel- vision and aspirations- update report* (City of London Police 2013b) the other mobile option listed to help achieve the “Force’s strategic aims” was that of ‘behaviour detection’. Behaviour detection methods are adapted from behavioural psychology, engineering and the social and physical sciences. Much of this integrates human factor theory which has relatively recently come to be integrated with counter-terrorism measures (Stedmon and Lawson 2015:4). These modes of ‘behaviour detection’ are utilised in order to examine the intent of subjects (Gowman 2016:8).

The 2013 *Ring of Steel- vision and aspirations- update report* states how in partnership with the Centre for the Protection of National Infrastructure the CoLP had been working to review counter terrorism policing tactics. Over an 18 month period the two institutions developed a tactic called ‘Influence Activity’. The *British Army Field Manual: Countering Insurgency* (2009) lists influence activity as part of the psychological dimension of counterinsurgency. It requires a narrative that ‘mobilises the population’ and can ‘shape perceptions’. Although generally used in military interventions overseas, this tactic attempts to crucially create cooperation between civilian and security services in order to isolate radical insurgents and denigrate the strength of the rebel message. The CoLP report states that they use Influence Activity through: “specially trained staff (tactical engagement officers and behavioural detection officers) operating in a high profile manner to frustrate, detect and deter a wide variety of criminal and undesirable [actions].” In the *Performance against Targets in the Policing Plan, April 2012 to March 2013 report* the Commissioner of Police described these new deployments as follows:

This new policing tactic involved the coordination of existing force activities (media, communications and public relations, policing deployments and community engagement). The aim was to both deter criminals and influence their behaviour, making it easier for BDOs to spot suspects while at the same time reassuring the public. (City of London Police 2013c)

This operation, as another report that year outlined, shifted officers from the “normal, predictable, single-staffed entry points.” The protection of the periphery, therefore, was moved inwards towards unexpected and highly visible deployments. As the report states this trial “comprised different combinations of officers, BDOs, marked vehicles, horses, cyclists and dogs, supported by PCSO [Police Community Support Officers] ‘Tactical Engagement Officers’ specially trained to engage with and reassure the public.” (2013c) The *CoLP Annual Report 2013/14* announced this trial operation had become a permanent policing tactic as of February 2014 under the name Project Servator. In 2014 the City of London Police detailed on their website that Project Servator attempts to detect actions from: “petty criminals, to extreme protest through to terrorists.” (City of London Police 2014a) The *2014/15 Budget Monitoring Report* shows Project Servator obtained £180,000 worth of funding through the Home Office Innovation Grant (City of London Police 2015a). In the 2013/14 annual report Servator is classed as an operation which “reinforces the ‘ring of steel’”. (City of London Police 2014c) However by April 2016 the *Revenue Budget 2016/17 Update* had clearly separated the two operations, listing them as follows in relation to budgetary demands:

The Force has two additional tools to its response to the terrorist threat; Operation Servator, which uses behavioural detection officers and cutting edge techniques to target suspect individuals and situations. The level of resources necessary to sustain the level of activity, or increase if dictated by the level of risk, is likely to result in a budget pressure. The Ring of Steel, although recognised as excellent, is now in need of significant investment to ensure its continued effectiveness as a tool to address threat. (City of London Police 2016d)

The move towards Servator attempts a more dynamic, intelligence-led approach to visual surveillance and openly mixes counter-terrorism measures with crime control as well as the designing out of ‘extreme’ protest. In an open residents’

meeting an officer from the City of London Police explained operation Servator as follows. “We used to have [police at] the entry points of the Ring of Steel. We don’t really do that anymore. We have a proactive team who go out looking for criminal activity.” (COL MSE QOM 2015)

The central idea is to keep a level of unpredictability to their deployments. These seemingly random spot checks involve uniformed and undercover police operatives as well as private security officers. Police dogs and armed officers are also used. In addition the mobile, CCTV and Automatic Number Plate Recognition (ANPR) systems which have been attached to 22 vehicles provide pedestrian and traffic information at roadblocks or by the roadside (City of London Police. 2014d).

One of the main publicised aims of this project is to prevent what it calls ‘hostile reconnaissance’; the planning and gathering of information by groups termed as criminal, extreme or terrorist (City of London Police 2014a). Through interrupting this it hopes to deter and detect those with a ‘malicious intent’. In 2015 Radio 4’s Chris Vallance was asked by the police to observe a formation under Project Servator for publicity. The formation worked as follows. When uniformed officers arrive en masse at a location, plain clothed officers look for changes in behaviour. Of primary suspicion is the avoidance of the uniformed officers. If this is observed the undercover operatives then inform the uniformed police to stop and search the suspect. Alternatively the mobile CCTV and ANPR units can check license plates or faces against known ‘undesirables’ and stop them if they match. The result of these tactics, on the day Vallance followed officers, was the detainment of two illegal immigrants. Because of the broad remit for Servator’s purpose, this was seen by officers as a successful intervention.

However, in order to sift through and recognise these threats, ‘regular’ or ‘law abiding’ citizens must be put at ease and incorporated into the fold. As stated on the CoLP’s Project Servator webpage: “a pivotal part of Project Servator is telling people about what’s happening. It is really important that the public understand

the nature of the operations and, crucially, feel reassured rather than alarmed.”
(City of London Police 2014a)

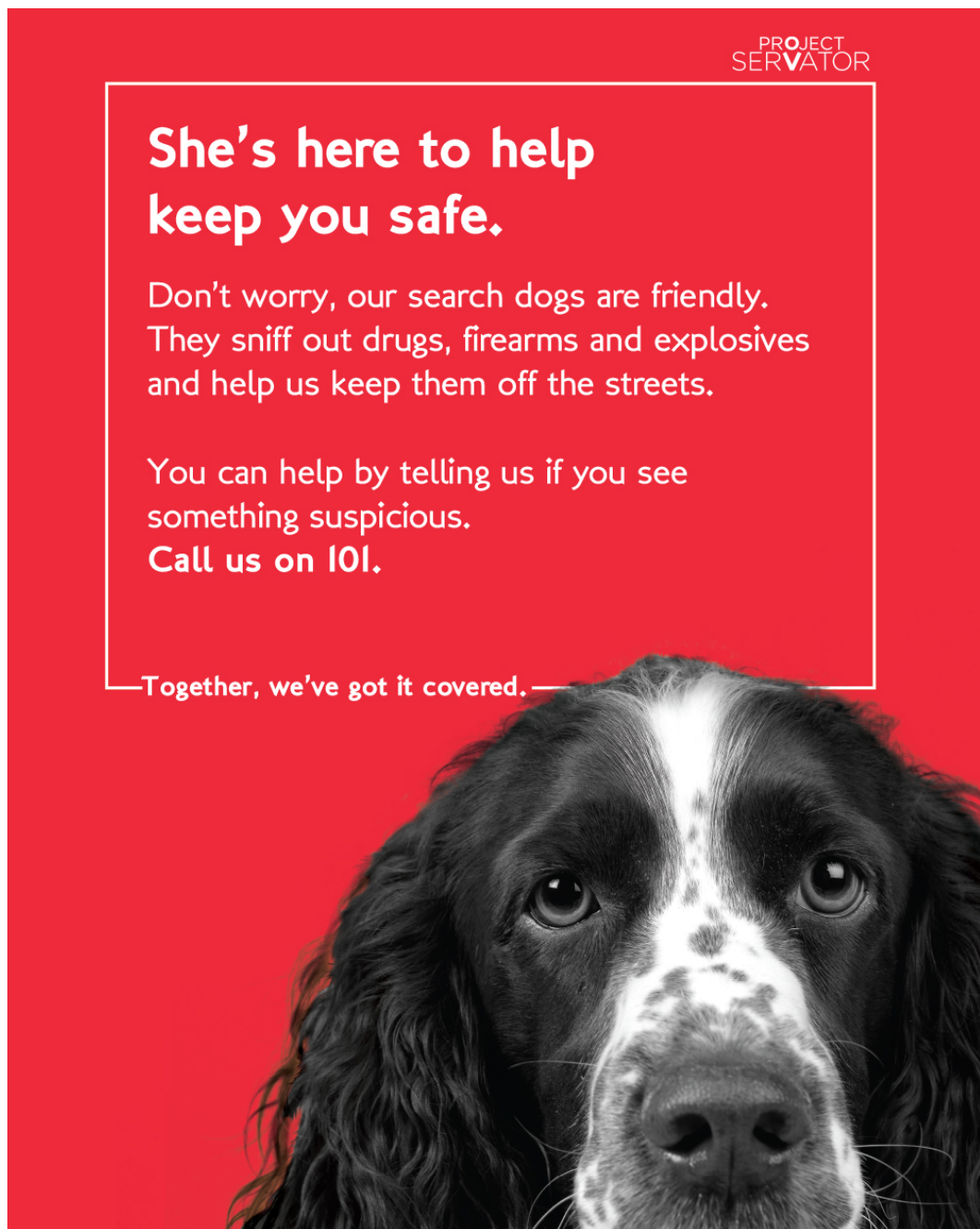
Promotional materials for Project Servator

Behaviour detection methods and unpredictable deployments go hand-in-hand with a campaign of community reassurance and project promotion through posters, press and A/V materials. Some of these promotional materials attempt to both reassure residents, visitors and workers and at the same time dissuade or make fearful supposed criminals, ‘extreme protesters’ and terrorists. This conflation between all types of unwanted activity is embedded in the messaging within the Servator promotional materials. Design company AML Group (2014) created the campaign materials for Project Servator. On their website they discuss their methods for creating a simple idea from a complicated procedure. As they state they see their job as aiding the police in using communications to help the “disrupting, deterring and detecting criminal activity”. The range of ‘criminal activity’ goes from what they call the “trivial to the terrifying.” To aid the police in Project Servator they provide “careful messaging, precise targeting and smart, responsive delivery.” Below they describe how this campaign supported the City of London Police.

It integrates overt messaging – posters, digital, ambient – to enhance the effectiveness of other activities around stations and public spaces. The messaging is designed to simultaneously reassure the public and target criminals and others. The use of colour, imagery and ‘Together we’ve got it covered’ tagline associates the work with related campaigns and invites public participation to build a powerful protective presence. (AML Group 2014)

Many posters and online banners speak directly to the ‘trusted’ community to either reassure or attempt to aid cohesion between police and citizen. One poster shows a dog in the bottom right hand corner as if it is peering into the picture. Instead of the more widely recognised police K9 German Shepherd, it is the less likely and softer looking Springer Spaniel that is featured. In bold letters on the top left is written: “She’s here to help keep you safe.” Underneath is printed: “Don’t worry, our search dogs are friendly. They sniff out drugs, firearms and

explosives and help us keep them off the streets.” The large almond eyes of the dog and its long drooping ears give the impression of a play-mate rather than a Police Dog (see fig 1).



PROJECT
SERVATOR

**She's here to help
keep you safe.**

Don't worry, our search dogs are friendly.
They sniff out drugs, firearms and explosives
and help us keep them off the streets.

You can help by telling us if you see
something suspicious.
Call us on 101.

Together, we've got it covered.

www.cityoflondon.police.uk



Fig 1 – Project Servator Poster – She's here to keep you safe (2014)

Another web banner states: “Trust your instincts... We do.” On the left hand side of the ad a well-built man in a long-sleeved t-shirt talks into a mobile phone. From his expression and the movement of his hand it seems as if he is reporting or explaining an event. In the bottom right hand corner a uniformed young police woman looks as if she is listening intently on a hands-free device (see fig 2).

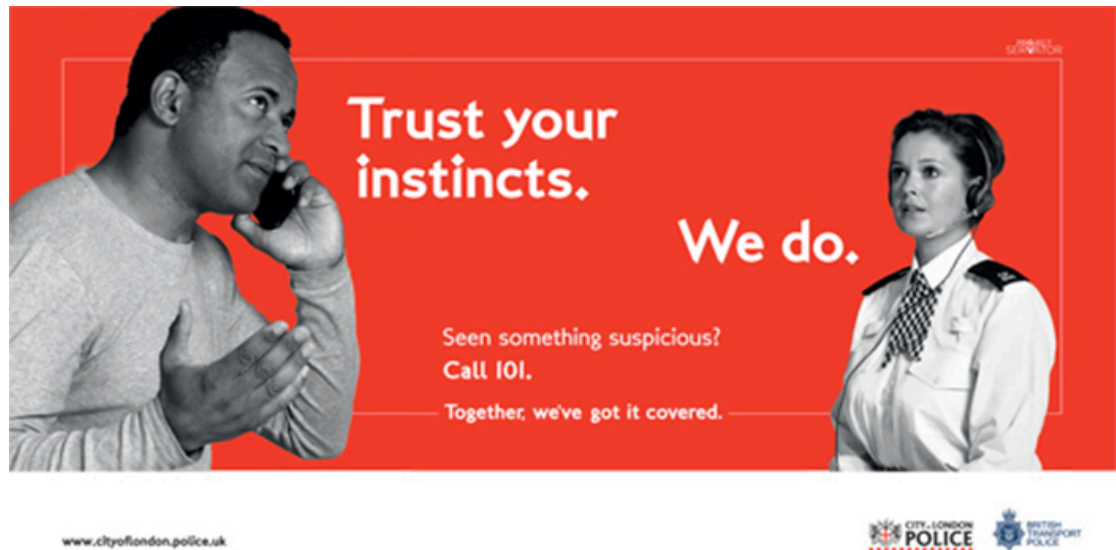


Fig 2 – Project Servator online web banner – Trust your instincts (2014)

Other posters try to emphasise the extent to which the public are integrated into the police operation. One poster shows a uniformed police officer in the foreground on the left hand side. In the background on the right are nine supposed members of the public in casual or what might be assumed to be office-work clothing. Above them the text states: “We love rush hour.” Underneath this is written: “It gives us 300,000 extra pairs of eyes.” These posters emphasise



Fig 3 – Project Servator Poster – Rush hour (2014)

the assimilation of the 'law-abiding public' with the police. They present supposed slippages between the two and suggest an interchangeable unified front (see fig 3). Here the eyes of the public are envisioned as doing the work of the police, creating a fluidity between the two. An additional series of materials outline the covert observations which take place as part of Project Servator. One poster showing a diversity of subjects mostly in casual clothing states in large letters "Can you spot the plain clothes officer?" (see fig 4)



Fig 4 – Project Servator Poster – Can you spot the plain clothed officer (2014)

Another YouTube video shows a sign visibly recognisable as those which show the timing of tube trains departures. In place of the destination of the train and its timing it states: “Plain Clothes Officer – 1min” (see fig 5).

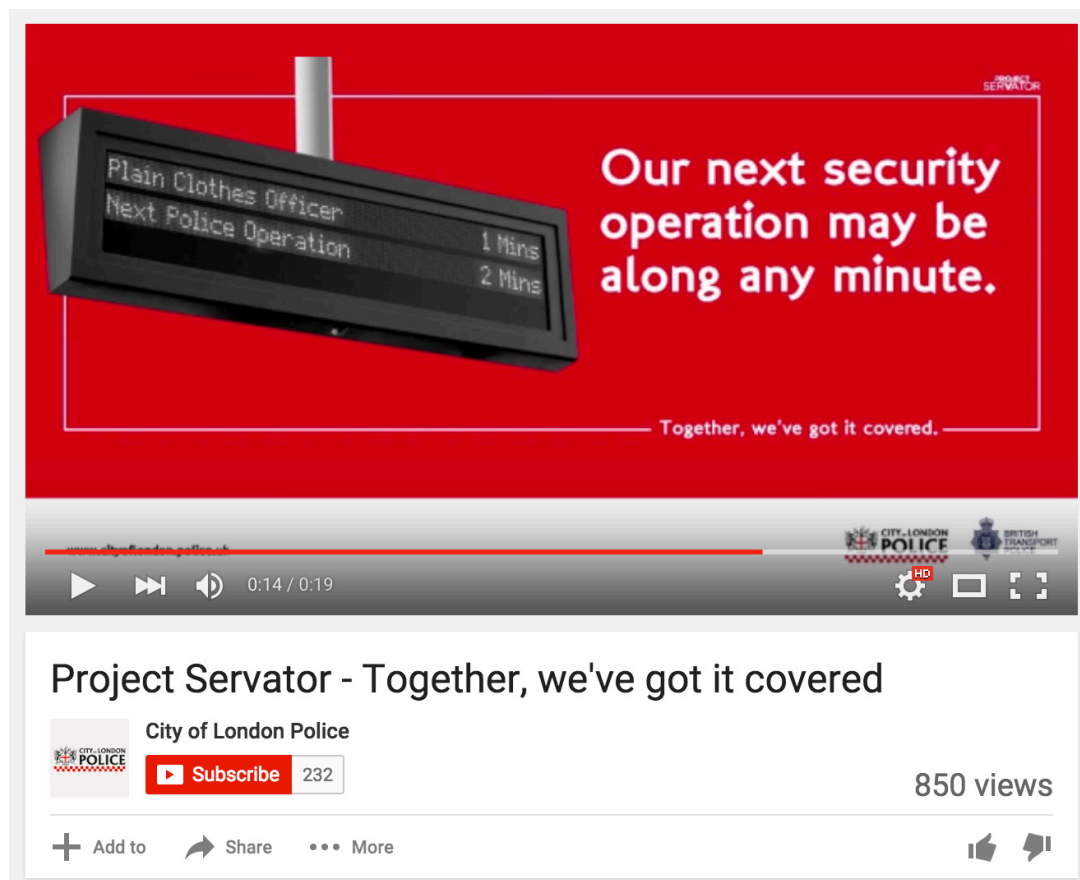


Fig 5 – Project Servator YouTube video – Together we’ve got it covered

These promotional materials attempt to normalise the idea that the police can be (and often are) hidden in plain sight. In questioning the reader’s ability to identify police operatives they present the idea that they could be operating the whole time. This does not only suggest that you are constantly being watched, but more importantly that there is a substitutable relationship between the police and the public.

The promotional materials reinforce their message through the consistency of design. The campaign lays out black and white images on a red background. These are a reflection of the colours which make up the City of London Police logo. They are used in the City of London Police badge, uniform and coat of arms. Through utilising this colour scheme the materials further underline the

amalgamation of what is imaged with the identity of the City of London Police. The subjectivity of the wider community is incorporated into the service of the police. As if to further emphasise this point, the tag line to all these promotional materials is “Together, we’ve got it covered.” But who are the ‘we’? And what are they looking for?

Hostile to whom?

The *Special Interest Area Scheme 2016/17 report* of May 2016 stated that the “operational side of Servator continues to be very successful”. (City of London Police 2016f) Its statistics were as follows. The outcomes for stop and search were between 53-68% ‘positive’ (i.e. resulting in either arrest, drug seizures, or cautions). This is compared to a benchmark national figure on stop-and-searches of 10%. Of their arrests between January and December 2015, 76 were for drug dealing and 48 for possession of false identity documents. No arrests since the beginning of Project Servator have been counter-terrorism related.

While these arrests are recognized as fulfilling the aim of ‘detecting wider crime’ the report also states: “Although these arrests may not be CT related we know that the tactics are working to help prevent Hostile Reconnaissance.” (2016f) This is known, according to the report, through two factors. One way they claim to know this is through what they term “anecdotal evidence from MI5.” (2016f) This is not expanded upon. Another is through the use of ‘friendly hostiles’. Friendly hostiles are security experts, many of whom are ex-military, paid to complete mock actions of hostile reconnaissance to see if these will be ‘found’ by security forces. However the report does not give any empirical evidence on how successful or unsuccessful these friendly hostiles were.

Maguire and Fussey (2016) see the recent move towards a focus on hostile intent in counter-terrorism measures as trying to isolate “leaked traits” (2016:12). In this scenario, unconscious admissions of guilt are elicited or observed by the police or security. After interviewing more than a hundred security professionals they state that: “[a] recurring theme was the emphasis on subjectively defined notions of what is both ‘normal’ for a particular environment (such as the

'normal' pace and direction of crowd flows) and, replete with evocations of impurity, the identification of 'matter out of place.'" (2016:17) An attempt is made to separate the 'normal' from the 'abnormal', creating a hostile environment for the latter, while keeping the former appeased.

In doing so we might see contemporary modes of governmentality, as Foucault claimed, utilising the population through the "apparatuses of security" (Foucault 2007:68). Rather than gaining power primarily through the panopticon or an over emphasis on discipline, the apparatuses of security needs freedom to operate. It works via a constant expansion, latching onto people and things (Foucault 2007:71).

We might see this as part and parcel of a neo-liberal framework of governmentality. As Davoudi and Madanipour assert: "what makes the neo-liberal modes of government distinct from the welfare state is the attempt to *work through* the freedom or capacities of those who are governed to constitute authority and to govern." (2013:554) These freedoms and choices are a necessity of neo-liberal economics but they exist within a particular structural environment. As Cruikshank's states, "government works through [...] the subjectivity of its citizens" (1999:69). Overall control can be relaxed because certain organisational patterns are agreed and internalised.

However Servator also tightens the reigns of security through close alliance with the private sector. It has developed a concept of 'community' focused upon the smooth circulation of capital and business. As stated in the CoLP Community Engagement Update on 18 January 2017, "As part of the community's crucial involvement in Project Servator, the Force has piloted ReACT training for [private] security personnel" (2017: para1.10). These focus on issues such as 'Situational awareness', 'recognising suspicious activity' and 'motivating and demotivating behaviour and impact on the hostile'. (ibid) These attempt to examine the leaked traits of those unwanted in the area, proactively designing out dissent. Here we can see how Servator works with what Lubbers calls "corporate-counter insurgency" to "render resistance illegitimate" (2019:240). This splitting

between the normal and abnormal population works as Lubbers argues to justify methods which are both coercive and non-coercive (2019:241). Servator does this in an attempt to design out all undesirables, building on previous counter-insurgent techniques.

In the CoLP's Annual Report 2015-16, the Chairman of the City of London Police Committee states that Project Servator has now "been taken up nationally". (City of London Police 2016b) Leading on from this the *Special Interest Area Scheme 2016/17 report* states the CoLP trained officers in Servator tactics at Essex Police HQ and were be running sessions for other forces at Bishopsgate. (City of London Police 2016f) The City Police have now moved to train forces across the country and internationally in these tactics and Project Servator is now used by the following forces: London Metropolitan Police; British Transport Police (BTP); Essex Police force; North Yorkshire police; Ministry of Defence Police; Police Scotland; Royal Gibraltar Police; West Midlands Police (trailing); Merseyside Police (trailing); Greater Manchester Police (trailing); Civil Nuclear Constabulary; Avon and Somerset Police (trailing); Bedfordshire Police (trailing).

The London Metropolitan Police launched Project Servator as a permanent operation in February 2018 (Ministry of Defence 2018). It hosted a Pan-London launch of the operation from the Tower of London on 9 April 2018. This celebrated the take up of Servator by the Ministry of Defence police. Both joined the British Transport Police who had taken up the operation in December 2015 after trials in September. Yet as is the history of stop and search issues arose with its usage. In August 2018, the BBC Newsbeat website published an article entitled: "Stop and account: 'Stopped under a police power I'd never heard of'" It reported that Samuel Eni was stopped by police exiting a supermarket at Paddington station and told he needed to "account for his presence there". Eni subsequently missed his train and was late to work. When the BBC Newsbeat (2018) reporter contacted the Metropolitan police he was told: "Sam was stopped as part of Project Servator, which aims to tackle terrorism and other offences, and includes "highly visible and covert police officers" who are "specially trained to

spot the tell-tale signs and behaviour of individuals who may have criminal intent.” (BBC Newsbeat 2018)

However Samuel Eni filmed the event putting it on Twitter contesting that it was “racial profiling, stereotyping, and prejudice.” After being told that he hadn’t committed an offence and told that he did not fit the profile of a criminal or terrorist, Eni felt that the only reason for stopping him was due to his skin colour. Being asked to account for his activity in this space by a member of the police created a hostile environment for him, where he felt singled out and as if he was under suspicion. His flow to work was halted and public space restricted for him. What is seen as the norm and what is outside of this then, becomes of great importance. This is particularly brought into question through Project Servator’s fusing of terrorism, common criminality and ‘extreme’ protest. One could argue, through this definition of hostile intent, Servator builds in a repellent to direct action protesters examined in this thesis. These fluid lines between protest, criminality and terrorism become particularly problematic when examining the right to public space.

The conflation of direct action protest with terrorism was also seen in other presentations made by the City of London Police. Just as in the United States where Occupy were deemed to be “domestic terrorists” (Greenberg 2015:237), Occupy LSX were publically conflated with terrorist organisations again in 2015. *The Guardian* reported that City of London Police initiative Project Fawn had put the Occupy group on a counter-terrorism presentation given to nursery and primary school staff. The image obtained by the newspaper shows Occupy were put on the same PowerPoint slide as terrorist organisations such as al-Qaida and the IRA. It classified the group under the title ‘domestic extremism’. Other domestic extremists included the neo-Nazi David Copeland, perpetrator of the nail-bomb attack on a Soho gay bar in 1999 (Quinn 2015).

The aim of Project Fawn was to train community members in observing and assessing the risks from terrorist and extremist groups. Here the sight of the police was attempting to synch with the sight of the ‘public’. As stated in the City

Police Community Engagement Update, the workshop was given so that staff could be trained in order to: “assess the risk of pupils being drawn into terrorism, including support for the extremist ideas” (City of London Police 2015e). This move by the CoLP and their treatment of Occupy continue a conflation between protest and terrorism that can be seen in project Servator.²³⁵

After the 2017 publication of Rizwaan Sabir chapter in *The Violence of Austerity* linking Servator to the designing out of protest, numerous forces have taken the aim of deterring ‘extreme protest’ off their Project Servator webpages. Yet as of the time of writing (2019) some forces such as Essex Police, North Yorkshire Police and Bedfordshire police still have this aim on their website. Furthermore if there are links made between terrorism, criminality and ‘extreme protest’ internally within the force, Servator will still fit this aim.

The Global Security Operations Centre and Project Servator

The links between Servator, surveillance and the determent of protest can still be seen in the ‘Project Servator conference’ held in the City of London in 2019. The first page of the conference booklet has an ad for Vision Sector Group (VSG) and Mitie’s privately run ‘Global Security Operations Centre’. In large bullet points the second service advertised under ‘Terrorist information publications’ is ‘protest group monitoring’. This Global Security Operations Centre (or as it is known GSOC) is advertised as having “Proactive threat awareness, protective intelligence, stronger networks, shared insights.” It also conducts what it calls ‘social media monitoring’, ‘insider threat programmes’ and ‘post incident assessments’. In its mission statement on its website it states under the GSOC

²³⁵ There were also a number of times Occupy London protesters were conflated as terrorist while they were still at St Pauls. In a letter from Legal Observers Director, Matthew Varnham, to the City of London Police, Varnham (2015) details his worry in the continual classification of the Occupy group as domestic extremists – a term used for those seen as domestic terrorists. In Varnham’s statement he details a previous time to which, in December 2011, the City of London Police put out a Terrorist/Extremist update with Occupy London listed under the domestic category. It asked for vigilance around the groups suspected ‘hostile reconnaissance’ which, they worried, may lead to more sites in the City becoming occupied. Although previously the City of London Police stated this association with terrorism was non-intentional, as Varnham states, there have been repeated conflation of Occupy with domestic extremism that were causing concern. Rizwaan Sabir (2017:211-12) worked with the *Independent* to show there were seven Terrorist/Extremist updates around the Occupy London movement.

mission statement: “VSG recognises the risk and threats constantly faced by clients, as a host of far-reaching, divergent threats emerge and evolve. Such threats include terrorism, crime and disorder, *activism*, environmental and - increasingly – cyberattacks” (GSOC 2019).

Here activism is highlighted as an evolving risk and threat to their clients operations. At the top of their mission statement is written: “Our mission is clear. We gather intelligence and develop strategic partnerships to better protect people, assets and brands - creating a safer and more prosperous environment for your business.” (GSOC 2019) Here the strategic partnerships of business are developed so that assets and brands can be kept safe from activism. As Lubbers (2015:348) asserts this type of corporate action shows the move from a reactive to proactive approach. The website highlights that their centre is staffed ‘24/7’ by a group of ‘intelligence analysts’ who have “military, police, government, private sector intelligence and emergency response backgrounds.” Crucially they underline the “expertise and hands-on experience” of these analysts in among other things ‘activism’. The investigations by intelligence analysts are said to be conducted ‘discreetly’ and include the monitoring of: “groups of interest such as activist groups [...] and problematic individuals.” Here they stress how their investigations can be used by “law enforcement officers to formally identify individuals and take appropriate actions.” (GSOC 2019) The cross over between the private sector security and law enforcement is seen as crucial to their operations.

They also provide an app IRIS which provide “[r]eal-time geo-mapped threat and flash alerts” for topics that include “activism, suspicious activity, transport & infrastructure, fire, environmental and natural incidents”. They highlight that “threats might include extremist behaviour, protest and activism”. Their real time and geotagged mapping of activism is provided then to keep brands and businesses safe from protest. What they call a “bespoke web crawling technology” can be used to keep assets and brands safe by “monitoring social and conventional media”.

The focus on protest which may effect business continues through their twitter account. For example all the tweets they provided for the month of August 2019 related to direct action activism. An August 5 tweet detailed environmental roadblocks in Birmingham. On August 8th they highlighted protests at Hong Kong Airport. On August 13th they detailed a report they had completed on the Animal Liberation Front. A tweet on August 19th reported that Earth First had blockaded a mine in Northumberland. August 22 drew follower's attention to an Anarchist week long event starting the next day in Greece. On 28 August a tweet drew attention to a list of websites and contacts for Brazilian Consulates in the US drawn up by the hacker group Anonymous in response to the fires in the Amazon Rainforest. Here the intelligence on left wing direct action can be seen as a commodity to use in the protection of business and capital.

Furthermore, David Roney, Strategic Account Director at VSG (the creators of GSOC) previously worked as the Superintendent in charge of the National Counter-Terrorism Security Office and "instigated the roll-out of Project Servator across the UK (and to the private sector)." (Sims 2018) His interest in Servator as a project continued as he moved to VSG, when in March 2019 he delivered a session on 'Owning your space: Project Servator and Unpredictability Strategies' at the NSI Security Conference (NSI Summit 2019). Crucially his interest is in how the "police and the commercial sector can work more closely together" (Roney 2017:23). The GSOC then has solid connections to government and to the development of Project Servator. As stated on their website GSOC is a member of the Government Agency Intelligence Network which shares information between law enforcement, government agencies and selected private security. Similar to Lubbers (2012, 2015) this shows the interaction between state and corporate spying.

Roney originally started his career in 1982 in the City of London Police force spending his time in Operational Policing and Public Order. Therefore not only would he have witnessed the Stop the City protests but also the J18, before transferring to the British Transport Police in 2006. The narrative frames that historicised the J18 would have surrounded him in his work. As he branched out

from the City it seems in the promotion of Servator and in his work at VSG these frames continue to define security as a protection from protest.

While flows of capital are protected regardless of their social and environmental costs, the exploitation of the surplus population and the natural environment continue. The revolving door between private security and law enforcement continues to prioritise the protection of private property above the rights of those who want to hold capital to account. Servator and GSOC create fluid links between the public and private sector. As such these work to protect or design out protests which effect corporate and capital infrastructure. This becomes part of what Brock and Dunlap (2018:36) state is a “normalising and ‘rendering invisible’ [of] the state-corporate violence against popular resistance” As such the synching of sight between the police and the ‘public’ contains within it an unspoken protection against direct action protest.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined new police formations that are developing to protect the flow of capital. Here battle lines become drawn between what is ‘normal’ and ‘abnormal’. Micro behaviours are observed to detect who should and should not exist in specific spaces. The use of Project Servator and its links with the Global Security Operations Centre reflect an attempt by state forces and capital to further naturalise themselves and find new ways to combine. These attempt to make the population complicit in the conflation between terrorism, crime and protest. They create fluidity between police and a conforming ‘public’, transplant sight in the hope of shaping perceptions. While protections around the periphery of the City may not extend, the Servator ‘brand’ is intensifying surveillance of everyday space, spreading nationally and international.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have presented the surveillance of anti-capitalist, large-scale direct action in the City of London as a two stage process; connecting monitoring to the enclosing and subsuming of a commons. Focusing on the visual and visibility I have examined how this process works in line with a framing of vision presented by state forces and news outlets. While I highlight their fractured, competing and at times contradictory elements I argue that at their core these work towards the protection, circulation and reproduction of capital. If capital is like a short circuiting machine, constantly breaking its own limits only to create new ones in a different form then, as Deleuze and Guattari assert, this permeates throughout all areas of social life. In other words these lines of flight out of capitalist forms are deterritorialised only to be reterritorialised in new ways. As Thoburn (2003:2) writes this relates to Marx and Engel's notion that saw all that was solid melt into air. I argue the surveillance of this deterritorialisation aids the enclosure of embodied and communicative protest forms as they are reterritorialised and subsumed.

Therefore this reterritorialisation developed via surveillance aid two forms of enclosures – those which attempted to control a commons of protesting bodies and those which attempted to control a commons of communications. With the development of autonomous protest forms starting with the Stop the City actions (described in Chapter 2) and merging with new strategies in the J18 (described in Chapter 3) visual surveillance of crowds moved the City and Met police to use the kettle as their primary tool of public order formation. In its use of physical police bodies I argued the kettle was a form of what André Lepecki termed choreopolicing, which he states attempts to halt the formation of the political through the use of movement control (2013:20). As such it reterritorialised spaces of protest which could again be used for capital circulation.

Reterritorialisation via surveillance also subsumed outlier communicative forms into ones which can be useful for capital. As I show in Chapter 1 Hardt and Negri develop upon Marx's notion of formal and real subsumption arguing capital is subsuming "all social relations not just labour" (2018:442). As such the common

or non-capitalist strata becomes subordinate to the capitalist one. While Harvey agrees with this extension of subsumption he asks for it to be accompanied with specifics (2018b:450). Throughout this thesis I have shown attempts to subsume the communicative inventions developed in the commons, such as the protest livestream and decentralised media, into media conglomerates that help establish a horizon of thought.

However as I make clear both these forms of reterritorialisation – of spaces on and off line – are dynamic points of struggle. They are never fully reterritorialised. The enclosure of bodily spaces, was met with what Susan Leigh Foster calls “choreographies of protest” (2003:395) that shared an embodied non-compliance. These developed counter surveillant tactics into the protest forms of the starburst, the reverse starburst, the swoop and the inside/out. As such the development these forms was based on a strategic understanding of police tactics. Of course this movement and countermovement happened with different relations to power and also developed through interaction with the courts and government policy.

Both the Austin and Moos case attempted to hit back against police containment policy. While they were eventually unsuccessful, they did benefit activists in contesting some elements of police containment tactics. As I state in Chapter 5 the space that the Moos case opened up, which temporarily restricted the use of containment, may have helped Occupy LSX to fuse their long durational protest from inside the kettle. Where previously the kettle had been able to subsume the energy from the G20 protests, at Occupy LSX the movement of bodies in the weakened kettle could in part be seen to aid protesters to holding the space.²³⁶

Equally public order acts delivered from government have continually responded to the embodied tactics used by protesters. As I outlined above this can be seen in the 1986 and 1994 public order act as well as the amendments made in 1998. In

²³⁶ Occupy LSX might also have had more leeway in staying at that location rather than Bishopsgate Road as the geographical space chose was not halting the logistics or circulation of capital. However I would still content this ability to fuse their protest inside the kettle was aided by the legal win of the Moos case which was eventually overtuned.

the 1986 act restrictions were placed on assembly and processions which the 1985 white paper suggested was in part influenced by the STC protests. The 1994 act was specifically seen to target groups such as anti-roads activists, ravers, squatters, new age travellers and animal rights activists. While the restrictions here in part helped the Met police crack down on newly illegal activities, the act also brought together those criminalised groups who shared tactics and developed in strength in the lead up to the J18. As such the use of masks – a key aspect of counter surveillance and of the starburst protest form – was criminalised by the 1998 amendment.

Equally ‘public’ communications became a dynamic point of struggle as new methods were developed. On the J18 deterritorialised forms of communication were developed by media activists, such as the first protest livestream and Indymedia centre. These used methods developed in a commons to find innovative ways of reaching beyond established news forms.

While these used innovations to find a line of flight out of existing media assemblages, I have also presented how these were reterritorialised and subsumed. As I show in Chapter 4 the protest livestream started through an attempt to create an alternative media source outside of traditional media forms owned by corporations. While this was developed in a commons the first step towards its formal subsumption happened as a means of extending its reach. This seemed to fit the purposes of media activists as it was delivering alternative content through being embedded in a proprietary website.

As the development of the protest livestream continued other complications occurred. As outlined in Chapter 7 the protest livestream was extremely important to Occupy LSX and useful to their recruitment and dissemination of information. The off the shelf platform they used was Bambuser and Livestream. Both Bambuser and Livestream (previously Mogulus) were launched originally as free streaming services with private investors soon heavily funding them. Bambuser developed its interface using a commons to inform it and the visibility

from protests to increase its public profile. It became the first company to embed the livestream in social media sites such as Facebook.

However in 2018 Bambuser closed its social community and became a direct provider for media companies and online shopping innovations. What we can see from this example is that a line of flight out of traditional media networks became reterritorialised into the conglomerates and corporate media companies it was fighting against. The protest livestream then became subsumed into social media networks which may allow decentralisation but embed surveillance via default. Equally as we have seen in the development of social media companies, algorithms can be used to target users based on the data they provide. As the protest livestream continues we might ask, will those with capital be better able to direct their viewpoint to an audience than those without?

The enclosure of the protest livestream has parallels to the enclosure of indymedia. A space developed in the commons then becomes inspiration for the development of capital reproduction and accumulation. If the kettle physically enclosed the bodies of activists, then Bambuser and proprietary social media enclosed upon their communication networks in a way which was later used to develop retail and media conglomerates. This learning took the place of an observation which was linked to action. I posit this as a subsumptive surveillance of the commons, by the state and by capital.

However the enclosure of bodies also happened through communication and communication was enclosed through police bodies. As I outline in Chapter 3 crucial to the capturing of J18 activists were the newspapers that printed surveillance images. These relied not just on printing the likeness of activists but on visualising them in a particular way. The phrase “orgy of destruction” was continually used along side the printed images of activists who were presented as wild and dangerous. In this way it was not only the image that needed to be disseminated, but the way in which it was to be read. Here the police hoped to enclose upon the bodies of J18 activists using communicative networks that developed what Hall calls a ‘social vision’. It is through what Mirzoeff terms

visuality – the way to piece information together – that the reader is encouraged to hunt activists on behalf of the police.

In Chapter 6 we can see Ian Tomlinson's post mortem as an example of communication being enclosed by police bodies. Here the development of official knowledge in the guise of the autopsy was formed in an enclosed space where both the IPCC and Tomlinson's family were excluded. The policing of this space was done in part by the coroner who repeatedly refused to allow the IPCC to observe, and via the City police who were criticised for not informing the family they could attend. The large inaccuracies which seemingly abdicated the police of responsibility for Tomlinson's death shows the problematic nature of enclosing this event. No other eyes could be allowed on the body. A counter observation was designed out until more evidence was obtained by activists and journalists.

Enclosures like all boundaries in capitalism are constantly being over come and reformatted. The Ring of Steel surveillance operation has slowly moved towards more mobile operations. While CCTV has extended across London the move towards body worn cameras and operations such as project Servator have taken prominence. In the last two years of writing this PhD Servator's advance has been rapid. Leaflets for Servator have appeared in my local pet shop and the pub next door to my house. Servator now operates at the British Library with signs and leaflets being handed out to readers and mass police presence appearing at random on the main stairs as one enters.

Servator creates a fluidity between the police and the 'public'. It attempts to implant the idea that anyone can be an undercover officer or an informant, an extremely problematic notion when one examines the history of the Special Demonstration Squad or the NPOIU. It hopes to supplant the sight of the 'public', using their vision to aid the police. From this operation came the 'see it, say it, sorted' campaign often heard on the tannoy in rail stations. But what are we suppose to see? What are we supposed to say? What will be sorted? Servator relies on a hegemonic understanding of what does and does not 'look right'. It

relies on a dominant visuality which conflates terrorism, crime control and 'extreme protest'. Is this the real subsumption of sight?

How do we rupture this process? When we move, there is a counter move. When we make, we are subsumed. And yet at each stage along the way possibilities and contradictions appear. If capitalism is stuck in a feed-back loop constantly creating and obliterating boundaries it then constantly creates new opportunities for resistance. As Howard Caygill states, the technology for resistance exists both within and against networks of domination (2013:199). A vital way to strengthen contemporary battle lines is by using narratives that understand the historical progression of capitalism and chronicle the resistance to it. As this terrain is built counter surveillance becomes deeply entwined with counter visuality. Put another way if surveillance is merging the police's vision with that of the public, then counter surveillance attempts to break this through an alternative image. This counter visuality, as Mirzoeff states, rejects segregation and militarisation. Instead it confronts visuality with the tensions bound within its form (2011:477).

How can we confront the tension bound within the visual forms in this PhD? One way is to think about them as a pedagogical tool for activists. At the MayDay Rooms recent innovations have considered ways of archiving visual media forms produced or obtained by activists. These can help to activate new ideas based on insights from previous struggles. One such development is the online archive they established – Activist Media Project (AMP). It is not a tool for up to date communication, nor is it a network which links participants online. AMP is a platform to store materials which can facilitate collaboration and activist research. It can ingest video, photographs and the written word.

For the 20th anniversary of the J18 we uploaded the police surveillance film given to Nicola Kirkham. Here it has been annotated, examined and reformed as a means of observing the process of visual surveillance. An assemblage that was once used to perpetuate a dominant visuality has now been turned. What else it will reveal as it is dissected frame by frame is still unclear. But a commons can now search it, finding insights where there were once betrayals. Learning from

past struggles through collaborating in the here and now. As such this might be conceived of as a process of deterritorialising surveillance. It is no longer official knowledge. It has been made common.

Appendices

Interview ethics

I have changed the names of the people I interviewed for consistency purposes. However there is no information that they gave me which could be used to incriminate or make anyone vulnerable. I explained my evolving project to people when I met them and went over how their interviews would be used. I received ethics approval for this project 2019. Interviewee's have either signed the RCA standard consent forms or agreed to consent on tape

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